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PROCEEDINGS

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THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

SIXTEENTH SESSION, 1885-86.

First Meeting, 3rd November, 1885.

THE REV. CANON ST. VINCENT BEECHEY

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Royal Society:—The Proceedings. Vol. XXXVIII. Nos. 237 and 238. 8vo. London. 1885.

From the Society of Antiquaries:—Index, Title, &c., to Proceedings. Vol. IX. List of Members. June 4, 1885.

From the Geological Society:—The Quarterly Journal. Vol. XLI. Part 3. No. 168. 8vo. London. 1885.

From the Royal Geographical Society:—The Proceedings and Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. VIII. Nos. 6 to 10. June to October, 1885. 8vo. London.

From the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland:—The Journal. New Series. Vol. XVII. Part 3. July, 1885. 8vo. London.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—The Transactions. Vol. I. New Series. 4to. London. 1885.

—— The Proceedings. Session 1884–85. Nos. 15 and 16. 4to. 1885.

—— Journal of Proceedings. Vol. II. New Series. No. 1. 4to. 22 October, 1885.

—— The Kalendar. 1885–86. London. 8vo. 22 October, 1885.

From the Anthropological Institute:—The Journal. Vol. XV. No. 1. August, 1885. 8vo. London.

From the Royal Archæological Institute:—The Archæological Journal. Vol. XLII. No. 166. 1885. 8vo. London.

From the Palestine Exploration Fund:—The Quarterly Statement. July and October, 1885. 8vo. London.

From the Philosophical Society of Glasgow:—The Proceedings. 1884–85. Vol. XVI. 8vo.

From the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society:—The Journal. New Series. Vol. XVIII, 1884; Vol. XIX, Part 1, 1885; Vol. XX, No. 1, 1885. 8vo. Shanghai.

From the Editor:—The American Journal of Archæology and of the Fine Arts. Vol. I. Nos. 2 and 3. Baltimore. July, 1885.

From the Editor:—Johns Hopkins University Studies. 3rd Series. No. 8. The Influence of the Proprietors in founding the State of New Jersey. By Austin Scott, Ph.D. Baltimore. 8vo. 1885.

From the Hamilton Association Journal and Proceedings. 1882–83. 8vo. 1884.

From the American Philological Association:—The Transactions. Vol. XV. 1884. 8vo. Cambridge, U.S.A. 1885.

From the American Oriental Society:—The Journal. Vol. XI. No. 2. 8vo. Newhaven. 1885.

—— Proceedings at Boston. May, 1885. 8vo.

From the Editor:—The American Journal of Philology. Edited by Professor Basil C. Geldersleve. Vol. VI. Nos. 1 and 2. 8vo. Baltimore. 1885.

From the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres:—Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'année 1885. 4e série. Tome XIII. Bulletin de Janvier-Février-Mars; d'Avril-Mai-Juin. (2 parts.) 8vo. Paris. 1885.

Department of the Interior U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region; J. W. Powell in charge:—Contributions to North American Ethnology. Vol. V. 4to. Washington. 1882.

From the Editor:—The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Edited by the Rev. Stephen D. Peet. Vol. VII. Nos. 3 and 4. 1885. 8vo. Chicago.

From H.M. Secretary of State for India in Council:—The Sacred Books of the East. Vol. XX: Vinaya Texts, Part 3. Vol. XXII: Gaina Sûtras, Part 1. Vol. XXIV: Pahlavi Texts, Part 3. 8vo. Oxford. 1885.

From the Corporation of the City of London:—Calendar of Letters from the Mayor and Corporation of the City of London, circa A.D. 1350–1370, enrolled and preserved among the archives of the Corporation at the Guildhall. Edited by Reginald R. Sharpe, D.C.L. 8vo. London. 1885.

From A. Cates:—Bibliotheca Orientalis, &c., &c. 8th year. 1883. Compiled by Ch. Friederici. 8vo. Leipzig. 1885. Completing the series, for which the Society is indebted to Mr. Cates.

From John Holmes:—"On the Arrow-headed Characters of Nineveh and Babylon. 8vo.

Reprint. No date or name.

From the Author:—Revision Reasons: a Manual for General Readers and Students of the Revised Version of the Old Testament, &c. By the Rev. C. J. K. Gillespie, A.K.C., A.C.P., &c. I.—The Pentateuch. 8vo. Manchester. 1885.

From the Author:—China and the Roman Orient: Researches into their Ancient and Mediæval Relations as represented in old Chinese Records. By F. Hirth, Ph.D. Leipzic and Munich. 8vo. 1885.

From the Author:—The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament. By Eberhard Schrader, D.D., Ph.D. Translated &c., by Rev. Owen C. Whitehouse, M.A. Vol. I. London. 1885.

From the Author:—Die Keilinschriften am eingange der Quellgrotte des Sebeneh-su. Von Eb. Schrader. 8vo. Berlin. 1885.

Aus den Abhandlungen der Kœnigl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. 1885.

From the Author:—L'Asie occidentale dans les inscriptions Assyriennes. Par A. Delattre, S.J. 8vo. Bruxelles. 1885.

Extrait de la Revue des Questions Scientifiques. 1884–85.

From the Author:—The Phainomena or "Heavenly Display" of Aratos: done into English Verse by Robert Brown, Jun., F.S.A. 4to. London. 1885.

From the Author:—Die astronomischen Angaben der assyrischen Keilinschriften. Von Julius Oppert.

Aus dem XCI Bande der Sitzb. der kais.-Akad. der Wissensch. II Abth. April Heft. Jahrg. 1885. 8vo. Vienna.

From the Author:—Die Saitischen Monumente des Vatikans. Von Dr. Alfred Wiedemann. [Reprint.]

From the Author:—Ueber die altägyptische Wage. Von Alfred Wiedemann.

From the Annalen der Physik und Chemie.

From the Author:—Report of W. J. Stillman on the Cesnola Collection. Privately printed. 8vo. 1885.

From the Author:—Conciliation as a means of Religion. From R. P. 8vo. London. [1885.]

From the Author:—Zusammenhang der alttestamentlichen Zeitrechnung mit der Profangeschichte. Zweites Heft. Lösung der assyriologisch-alttestamentlichen Schwierigkeiten. Von Dr. B. Natêler. 8vo. Münster. 1885.

From the Author:—L'Arabie avant Mahomet, d'après les inscriptions, conférence faite à la Sorbonne. Par M. Philippe Berger. 8vo. Paris. 1885.

Extrait du Bulletin hebdomadaire de l'Association scientifique. Nos. 271 et 272.

From the Author:—Le Monument d'Eflatoun et une inscription Hittite. Par G. Perrot. 8vo. Paris. 1885.

From the *Revue Archéologique.*

From the Author:—Un camée du Musée de Florence. Par Joachim Menant. 8vo. Paris. 1885.

From the *Revue Archéologique.*

From the Author:—Lo scavo e gli oggetti della Terramara di Gorzano nell' anno 1879. Di Francesco Coppi. 8vo. Torino. 1880.

The following have been purchased by the Council for the Library of the Society:—

The Cat, Past and Present. From the French of M. Champfleury, with supplementary notes by Mrs. Cashel Hoey. 8vo. London. 1885.

Les Fraudes Archéologique en Palestine. Par Ch. Clermont-Ganneau. 8vo. Paris. 1885.

The Secretary reminded the Society of the former donation made by Mr. F. D. Mocatta, one of the Members of the Council, of a new set of casts of the engraved stones formerly at Hamath. The Secretary announced that the Society was now indebted to Mr. Mocatta for a cast of the Lion preserved in the Museum at Constantinople with the Hamath Stones. He believed that it had been brought there from Merash. It was particularly curious and valuable to those who paid attention to the "Hittite" inscriptions, as among the many characters with which one side and the front was covered, were several new forms. From being only engraved on one side, it seemed probable that it had originally been placed against a wall; and the line of the animal's back having been "finished" flat, would appear to indicate that it had served as a support for a column or some other portion of a building. The Secretary mentioned that it had already been photographed for the new edition of Dr. Wright's "Land of the Hittites;" and that it was his intention at some future time to make and submit to the Society drawings of the whole of the inscription.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on December 1st, 1885:—

E. G. Keen, Warwick, Chester Co., Penna., U.S.A.
Rev. F. H. Chase, M.A., 2, Trumpington Street, Cambridge.
E. B. W. Balmer, Loughrig, Ambleside.
W. Muir Farquhar, 114, Beaufort Street, Chelsea, S.W.
Rev. Angus Crawford, Mount Hall, New Jersey, U.S.A.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:—

The Academical Oriental Society, Berlin. Hubert Grimme, Secretary, Unter den Linden, No. 3.

Mr. Cope Whitehouse, with the aid of maps, charts, surveys diagrams, and photographs, explained the course of the Bahr Jūsuf, and the engineering works attributed by the Muhammedans to the Patriarch Joseph. In the opening remarks, and in answer to questions put by Canon Beechey, M. Oppert, Rev. C. J. Ball, Mr. Wallis Budge, and others, he gave an account of his researches substantially as follows:—

The Bahr Jūsuf and the Prophecy of Jacob.

The main stream of the Nile runs under the eastern cliffs. The irrigation of ancient Egypt above Memphis was effected by diverting streams at various points. Drainage canals, however, are as essential as irrigation canals, and the water must not be allowed to stand. The most important of the lateral canals is the Bahr Jūsuf, which now takes its water from the Ibrahîmè canal, not far from Assiūt. It traverses the provinces of Minieh and Beni-Suef, serving also as a drainage canal, and discharges its waters into the Birket el-Qerūn. If Lake Mœris, during the stay of the Jews in Egypt, filled the Reian basin as well as the lower part of the Fayoum, then this canal or branch of the Nile was for about ninety miles the chord of an arc formed by the two lakes of the Horns. In the latter period of the Roman occupation the Fayoum basin was cultivated down to the lowest terrace, one hundred and fifty feet below the level of the Mediterranean. The supply of water was skilfully regulated. A lake or marsh of insignificant depth and breadth, but nearly thirty miles long, offered sufficient evaporating surface, like the Dead Sea, to dispose of the residual surplus. The Wādi Reian, now dry, was, on the other hand, filled to the brim at each recurrence of the inundation. About three hundred square miles of surface, with a maximum depth of three hundred feet, sufficed to impound the Nile floods,* but only a portion of this, not exceeding thirty feet, was available at low Nile for water-power, commerce, and irrigation. This river of Joseph was surveyed with reasonable care by the French Expedition. It recently underwent an important change with the construction of the Ibrahîmè canal. Any account of it in the text-books will be found inadequate. It has

* *See* "Impounding the Nile Floods," "Engineering," September 11th, 1885; a most able and lucid summary by some one possessed in equal measure of literary skill and practical experience.

always been conceded by historians and Egyptologists that it dates from the most remote antiquity. It is obvious that it is as old as Lake Mœris, older than the Labyrinth, and possibly little more modern than the great dyke at Memphis, said by Josephus to have been built about B.C. 2200. The Nile was forced out of its natural channel by that structure, which presumably formed part of the extensive system of public works of which the Fayoum was the key. By an extraordinary error, the name, however, is uniformly asserted to be comparatively modern. "The Joseph whence it takes its name" is said to be "the celebrated Saláh ed-Deen, the Saladin of our historians" ("Encyc. Brit.," Egypt, § Bahr Yoosuf). Saladin built the citadel of Cairo in 1166. It is repugnant to the whole spirit of Oriental nomenclature to suppose that a conqueror could impose his name on a partly natural, partly artificial channel through which the water had passed for at least four thousand years. It would be less difficult for a Sultan who repaired the Mosque at Hebron, to substitute his name for that of Abraham. All the Arabic historians as well as the natives ascribe it to the Patriarch Joseph. Masūdi died in Cairo A.D. 956. In the 21st chapter of his work he gives the history of the Fayoum, a district in the Saïd, its canals on the higher plateau, and in the depressed parts, with the works undertaken by Joseph to fertilize the district encircled on all sides by water as by an island. The name may be carried to a remoter date. Σοῦφις is the Greek form used by Syncellus. It is the SaP, represented by the sacred hawk of Horus, whose outstretched wings were a geographical symbolism.

The Muhammedan history of Joseph the engineer seems to me to be older than the time of Rameses II. Egyptian history apparently requires the influence of an alien race of superior intelligence, holding the Fayoum and the commanding positions in the adjacent valley of the Nile, the wells at the convent of St. Anthony, the port on the Red Sea in lat. 29°, and fortresses surrounded by a neutral zone of pasturage at several points in the Delta. The history of Spain without the Moors is the history of Egypt without the Hyk-Sos, and their kinsfolk the Arabian descendants of Jacob. This was intimated in my earliest papers.* The modern names Beni-Suef and Minieh seem equivalent to "the

* "Ma croyance dans l'existence de l'ancien lac Mœris se développait peu à peu parceque en suivant plusieurs chemins qui pussent servir à mes recherches, je me trouvais toujours en présence d'un ouvrage excédant les forces, l'intelligence,

Sons of Joseph and Benjamin." The topography then requires that Manasseh and Ephraim should occupy the Fayoum and the valley of the Nile. The region known as ta-ŠÊ was ascribed by the ancient historians to an early king or pontifex maximus, whose name was given with great uncertainty as Mēn or Menes. In either event it closely resembles Manasseh. The Greek names have been credited with a Greek origin. This does not seem warranted by history or the facts. The Nomos Aphroditopolites is placed on the map of Egypt by Dr. Brugsch where the tribe of Ephraim is alleged to have dwelt. Joseph is said to have been בֵּן פֹּרָת. This Bēn Pōrāth is intelligible as "the offspring of the Egyptian Euphrates," in the province subsequently assigned to Aphrodite-Hathor. In June, 1881, I had identified the twelve founders of the Labyrinth with the twelve sons of Jacob ("Index" V, "The XII Kings, Princes or Patriarchs"), and connected the Bahr Jūsuf with Pithom and Raamses.

The difficulty in explaining these allusions arises from the large amount of error in current works. It is a simple task with correct maps, surveys, photographs, and verbal explanation, but is necessarily obscure in print. The general idea however can be readily stated. It must be remembered that there are literally thousands of threads which bind the whole together, invisible to anyone not familiar with the subject, and I am myself obliged to suppress hundreds of points for want of time to show their mutual relation. If the prophecy of Jacob is believed to have been current in Egypt before the time of Rameses II, and formed part of those records to which Manetho refers, it may have been popularized and repeated to Herodotus, and be found clinging with Oriental tenacity to the revetted mountain, the plain, the monument, the fortress, the river and the lake which were an evidence of a foreign domination, like the *vegas* of Granada and the columns of Cordova. The authenticity of the Pentateuch then receives unexpected support. The situation of the tribes at the commencement of the oppression is indicated with minute exactitude. The route of the Exodus avoids the narrow, and therefore impassable, canals and

les ressources ordinaires, et qui avait ainsi fourni à la géographie, à l'histoire, à la mythologie et au langage des faits, des événements, des dogmes allegoriques et des mots."—*Revue Archéologique*, 1882, p. 340.

ditches on the confines of the Pelusiac branch. The main stream of the Nile was no obstacle. Anticipating the advice of the Florentine, the natives "built a bridge of gold for the retreating foe." If it is a vision, it is one of great suggestive beauty. If it is truth, it approximates to revelation with a light which was denied to the Alexandrian Jews and the Targumists of Jerusalem. It is, in any event, a chapter in an Eirenicon between those who hold the Patriarch Joseph in such reverence that they would not write his name without an invocation, and that section of Christendom which seems to delight in any attempt to besmirch and belittle its physical or spiritual ancestry.

The Prophecy of Jacob.

"And Jacob called unto his sons, and said: Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you that which shall befall you in the latter days."

The period (בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים) in which the descendants of Jacob were in the condition described in the succeeding verses has been much debated. It is agreed that it could not have been later than the division of Israel and Judah into independent sovereignties. The reign of Solomon and the latter part of the reign of David are excluded by the marked recognition of separate tribal organizations. The staff of the Lawgiver was not in the hands of Judah during the leadership of Saul. Modern criticism has selected the age of Deborah (Dillman on Genesis, p. 434), and assumed that someone, endowed with the necessary personal qualities and official rank, had, at some crisis in the twelfth or thirteenth century, composed a poem, in which he pronounced judgment upon each tribe, with a view to exciting the children of Israel to united action against the Philistines. This destructive criticism is open to fatal objections. Zebulon is neither praised nor blamed. The geographical situation of the tribe is stated with great precision. As a prophecy it might amount to a blessing. As a statement of fact it is bald and erroneous. The tribe of Zebulon during the age of Deborah was not by the sea, engaged in commercial pursuits at the Phœnician port of Sidon. The date is however further limited by the passionate cry against Simeon and Levi. It must have preceded the second year of the Exodus, for Levi is not numbered with Simeon. But surely there was no period after the consecration of Aaron and his sons in which

anyone would have ventured or desired to put into the mouth of Jacob the words :—

> "O, my soul, come not thou into their council,
> Unto their assembly, my glory be not thou joined."

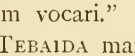
Korah, a son of Levi, Dathan and Abiram, sons of Reuben, and the two hundred and fifty princes did not impute any wrong to Moses, but objected, like the modern Oriental monotheist, to the creation of a separate caste, seeing all the congregation were holy.

The children of Israel, after the death of Jacob, were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied and waxed exceeding mighty, and the land of Egypt was filled with them, when a change of dynasty and of temper, like the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, brought about the Exodus.

It is in entire harmony with the sacred text to suppose that whether as prophecy, or contemporary record, or history, Jacob, Moses, or a subsequent historian describes the condition of the tribes in Egypt shortly before the Exodus. "Now it happened," says Josephus, "that the Egyptians grew delicate and lazy as to painstaking, and gave themselves up to other pleasures, and in particular to the love of gain. They also became very ill-affected towards the Hebrews, as touched with envy at their prosperity, for when they saw how the nation of the Israelites flourished, and were become eminent already in plenty of wealth, which they had acquired by their virtue and natural love of labour, they thought their increase was to their own detriment: and forced them to learn all sorts of mechanical arts, and to accustom themselves to hard labour." He cites Manetho as saying that the Hyk-Sos were Phœnicians, of whom the Jews were kinsfolk, and that they were masters of Egypt for four centuries, at the end of which they forsook Egypt for maritime stations in the Mediterranean. If the prophecy relates to Egypt, the metaphors and geographical allusions must refer to the land of Goshen, and that part of the Nile valley or Delta which was filled with the Hebrews.

The conclusion at which I had arrived placed "the land of Goshen between Upper and Lower Egypt from On, which is Heliopolis, past Raamses-Memphis, for fifty miles or more to the southward, and then westward into the lake region of Mœris" ("The Churchman" of New York, Jan. 31st, 1884).* There was, at that time, no sus-

* See also, "Where is the Land of Goshen?" in the library of the Soc. of Bib. Arch., and *Proceedings* for March, 1885.

picion in my mind that Jablonski (1693—1767) had said: "Quodsi jam omnia hæc rite expendimus et inter se comparamus, intelligemus facile, in Ægypto, ab omni tempore hominibus hanc insedisse persuasionem, Israëlitas quidem habitasse in tractu Heracleopolitico, ibique, cum pecoribus pascendis, tum operibus magnificis et utilitatis admirandæ construendis, occupatos fuisse, dum interea reges Memphim, sedem suam, omni studio et industria exornarent, atque illic jus populis dicerent. Postremum hoc cumprimis, ex omnibus iis quæ attuli indiciis adeo certis colligitur, *ut vix credam, fore quemquam, qui id in dubium vocare sustineat.*" It is quite certain that I would have put forward the author of the "Pantheon Ægyptiorum," the Professor of Theology in the University of Frankfort and member of the Berlin Academy, to defend the position that from all time, men, in Egypt, have entertained the belief that the Israelites pastured their flocks in the perennial pasturages of the Fayoum and the adjacent parts of the Nile Valley north to Gizeh and Heliopolis. Here Herodotus and Josephus alike aver that there were crown reservations, from which, for obvious military reasons, the native villagers were excluded. It still seems to me incredible that anyone could cite the De Terra Gosen at first hand, and yet substitute for the Arsinoïte nome the absolutely sterile desert near Tel el-Maskhuta, unbroken, in the time of Jacob, even by the strip of verdure which was always insufficient to maintain the inhabitants of its garrison towns. St. Jerome had preserved a statement that "Gesen nunc Thebaidem vocari." This is explained by the map of Fra Mauro, where TEBAIDA marks the northern limit of the province of Beni-Suef.* , *Pa neb tepu ah*, is "la ville de la dame des têtes de vâche, c.-à-d., Hathor, Nome Aphroditopolite, xxii, H. E. Copte ⲦⲎⲠⲈ, d'où l'Atfieh Arabe" (Pierret, D., p. 142). He added that "optimam terram in Ramesse" was "Pagum Arsinoïtem." If therefore we assume that the author of these verses, and those in the preceding chapter which describe the condition of Manasseh and Ephraim, living at some point near Heliopolis, perhaps Jashan-Belbis, or Tel el-Jahudeh, desired to pourtray in vivid language what Josephus stated in plain prose, we would look for the local colouring between the head of the Delta and Assiūt, on the western side of the Nile. The order in which the tribes are named is not that of birth, numbers, social rank, or prosperity. It is not the order of the Blessing of Moses or the

* *See* also the bilingual map (Brit. Mus. MSS., Add. 5662).

enumeration of the host in the wilderness. This requires a *raison d'être*. If we are to find it in topography the succession must be strictly followed: Reuben, Simeon and Levi, Judah, Zebulon, Issachar, Dan, Gad, Asher, Naphtali, Joseph, represented by the double portion of Manasseh and Ephraim, Benjamin. The provinces of Minieh, Beni-Suef, and Gizeh are the Mohammedan substitutes for the Greek appellations of Lycopolites, Heracleopolites, Aphroditopolites, and Heliopolites. The Ishmaelite was compelled to get rid of these profane terms. He reverted to the earlier names preserved by the inhabitants of Semitic descent.

The Blessing of Joseph in the persons of his sons precedes the more detailed blessing when his turn is reached among his brethren. He therefore is largely the most important personage. Beginning with Joseph, and adopting the revised version, with the insertion of an occasional word of explanation, it seems obvious that Jacob drew a parallel between his son and that partly natural and partly artificial branch of the Nile which the Arab now calls the River of Joseph, and which Masūdi, a thousand years ago, attributed, with its attendant blessings and pools, vineyards and tanks, in the Fayoum and in the Nile valley, to the sagacity of the Hebrew Premier.

JOSEPH.

Joseph is a fruitful bough, [a branch of the Nile].
A fruitful bough by a fountain, [the reservoir of Middle Egypt].
His branches (daughters) run over the wall [of the valley].
The archers [of the Sun] have sorely grieved him,
And shot at him, and persecuted him.
But his bow [the lakes of the Horns] abode in strength,
And the arms of his hands [the canals] were made strong,
By the hands of the Mighty One of Jacob.
[This is Avaris, the stronghold of the Hyk-Sos].
From thence is the shepherd [race], the Stone of Israel.
Even by the God of thy father who shall help thee,
And by the Almighty who shall bless thee,
With blessings [*i.e.*, pools] of [rain from] heaven above,
Blessings of the deep [Mœris] that coucheth beneath,
Blessings of the breasts, [the bosom of the Nile],
And of the womb, [the broad fields of Beni-Suef].
The blessings of thy father have prevailed above the blessings of my progenitors,
Unto the utmost bounds of the everlasting hills.
They shall be on the head of Joseph,
And on the crown of him that was separate from his brethren.

According to Strabo, the canal of Joseph had two entrances. They are represented on the geographical papyrus of Boulaq by two maidens offering flowers to Sevek, type of a Nile rich in fish and vegetable germs.

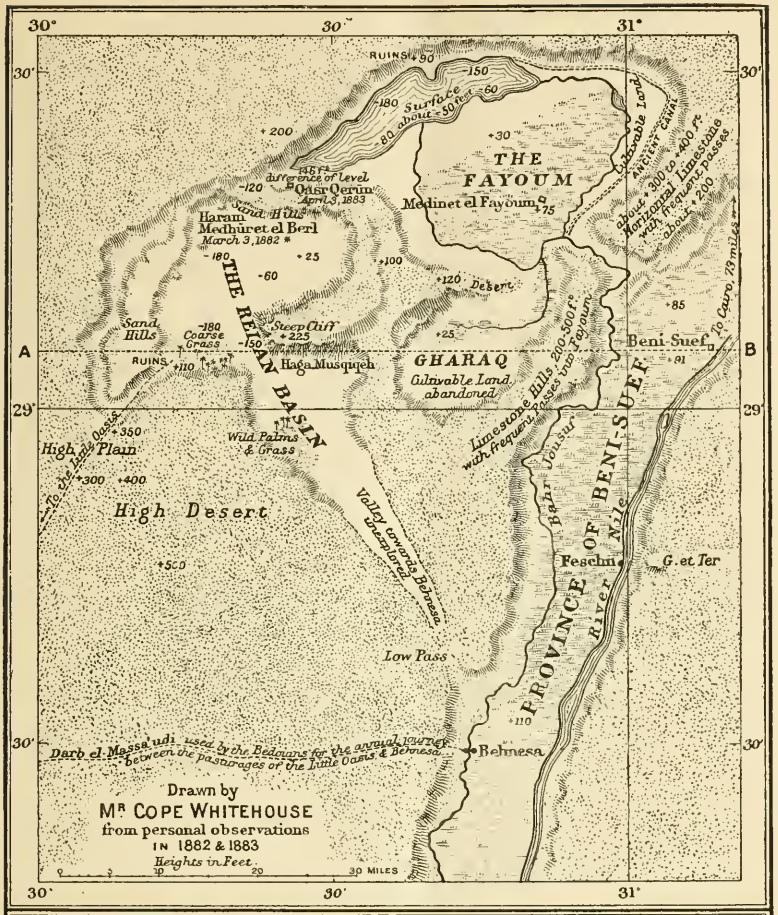
The conflict between the Heracleopolitans and the inhabitants of the Arsinoïte nome inflicted irreparable damage upon the Labyrinth. When the shepherd king, the Rock of Israel, had, according to Manetho, evacuated Avaris (Howara), with all the honours of war, the natives pillaged the towns of the Fayoum. The term זְרֹעֵי יָדָיו, the arms of his hands, ceases to be awkward and prolix if it describes the two inner canals which embraced Jerusalem of Egypt (Manetho), the island of Joseph (Masūdi). The Bahr Wardan (Jordan), long



since dry, watered the north-eastern Fayoum. The papyrus, with its figure of a noble female, expressing to the eye the metaphor בְּרֵכֹת שְׂדֵיִם, the pools of ta-Še, the region of ΣΩΣ, of which the shepherd kings were the Hyk or Lords, explains the Κόλπος of the Greeks. The רָחַם may also be a paronomasia, but this part of the valley still bears a similar descriptive appellation. The deep sea, the Βάθος of Herodotus, lay, with fifty fathoms of clear blue water, for ninety miles under the foot of the everlasting hills of the desert, the only deep in the course of the river from Albert Nyanza to far beyond the shoal waters of the Mediterranean coast. Twelve miles west of Behnesa, on the map of Dr. Ascherson (*Zeit. d. G. f. E.*, Berlin, May, 1885), Buēb el-Tachtani is the תָּחַת of the text. It is at the south-east extremity of the Reian Basin, or Southern Horn of that Bow which defied the heat of summer and the arrows of the Sun-worshippers when the 480,000 men under Alisphragmouthosis could not dislodge the inferior numbers, assailed by sea and by land (Josephus contra Apion, I).

Manasseh and Ephraim.

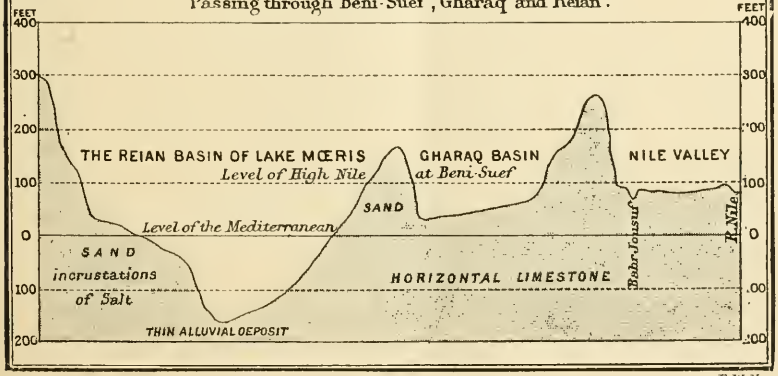
The Arsinoïte nome was divided (Pliny). So too the Bedouin Sheikhs, whose hospitality I enjoyed at Behnesa and Qasr el-Gebāli, exercise hereditary authority over two distinct districts. The shêkh of Behnesa is also shêkh of the Little Oasis, but Sirdaui has no control over the tribes who pass the winter and spring near Heracleopolis. The king MHN of Herodotus is the  *men* of the papyrus of Boulaq: ", MeNMeN; this place to the north of the Lake, Ta-She is its name. The region Menmen is nourished by the water of the canal of this Divinity." (*Br. D. G.*, p. 257.) The Labyrinth, which was in or near *She* or Se, was apparently called Μεμνόνιον (Strabo), and thus MeN-ŠÊ is Manasseh, who received among the Greeks the credit of the engineering works ascribed by the Arabian and Jewish historians to Joseph. On the papyrus of Boulaq there is a double compartment, numbered once in Demotic by the Ptolemaïc scribe, but as XIII and XXIII by Dr. Pleyte. XIII is , Ha ŠeT, "the temple of the flame;" XXIII, is  Pa RA, in Ta-ŠÊ, the kingdom of Sebek-Setet. The tribe of Ephraim was more



SECTION ON A---B.

Lat. 29°6'

Passing through Beni-Suef, Gharaq and Reian.



E. Wellen

adventurous than that of Manasseh. It quitted the original Goshen, "the fair-abiding place in the Western region of the Lake," for the Bathen of Beni-Suef. Jacob, disregarding the annoyance of Joseph, said with historic truth: "I know it my son, I know it; Manasseh also shall become a people, and he also shall be great: howbeit his younger brother shall be greater than he, and his seed shall become a multitude of nations." Ephraim probably included, as at the present day, the oases as an indispensable adjunct to the pasturages of Beni-Suef, and the dual form deserves attention. The dream of Joseph, so cruelly misinterpreted by his father, was now fulfilled. The Sun and the Moon bowed down to him: Ra and Hathor acknowledged his beneficent power (Gen. i, 19, 20). The eleven stars made obeisance unto Σόυφις (see Steph. Thes, s. v. Σόυφις = Σῶφις = Σῶθις).

"Balbīs," said the Arabian historian, "is called in the law of Moses, Jāshān, and is the place to which Jacob went down after he had presented himself to his son Joseph." The double nomenclature of Egypt, which gave to Arsinoe on the Heroonpolite Gulf (and to the Heroonpolite Gulf itself) the name of the important Prefecture of which it was the Ostium or Le Havre, compelled the Greek geographers to use Magna and Parva to distinguish Heracleopolis (M), Appollinopolis (M), Aphroditopolis (M), the parent city in the Nile Valley, from the πολίχνη, subordinated to it by some channel of commerce. The land of Goshen, where the sons of Israel finally settled, was "in the midst of the land of Mizraim, and the royal palace of Pharaoh was at the entrance of the land of Mizraim." (See "The Targums on the Pentateuch," I, 477). When Joseph addressed Pharaoh (Gen. xlvii, 1) his brethren were בארץ גשן, in the Fayoum-Goshen. Their father was at On-Heliopolis-Zoan. The רעה צאן (*ib.* xlvii, 3) received the royal permission to present themselves at Court, as well as to dwell in any part of Mizraim, and the father and sons remained near Joseph, and received allowances from the Crown (Gen. xlvii, 11). With the completion of the vast system of irrigation, which the Wādi Reian enabled these Hyk-Sos to establish, the lands of the Arsinoïte Nome and the adjacent districts in the Nile Valley were increased in extent, and enhanced in value. The rose, the olive, the papyrus, and the vine seem to have been a monopoly of the Crown, as tobacco and salt in modern times. Commerce and manufacture were developed. Heavily laden ships

from the Phœnician coast anchored under the fortress of Men-Nofer, and were docked in the chief port of the Saïd near Gizeh, at the mouth of the Canal of Joseph.

Thus Herodotus said that the Egyptians told him that except the Thebaic canton (the Nile valley south of Aphroditopolis), all Egypt was a marsh; none of the land below Lake Mœris then showing itself (at high Nile) above the surface of the water. As the Dutch engineers altered the face of the Norfolk broads, the Hyk-Sos redeemed the Holland of the Nile. The Palace of Pharaoh was necessarily near the head of the Delta, where by "barrages" the government controlled the river and, through it, the inhabitants of the Delta. The Egyptian Memphis, the Greek Heliopolis, the Roman Babylon, and the Mahommedan Cairo are conclusive proofs that this district is the natural centre of administration.

Benjamin.

> Benjamin is a wolf that ravineth.
> In the morning he shall devour the prey.
> And at even he shall divide the spoil.

Benjamin, בִּנְיָמִין, Βενιαμίν, Βενιαμείν; and יְמִינִי, Jamini, is of uncertain etymology, and בֶּן־אוֹנִי, Βενώνι, Benoni, is an alternative name. It might almost be said that כִּי גַם לָךְ בֵּן may indicate as a third appellation BÈN. The Samaritan gives a fourth, בנימים. בִּנְיָמִין is interpreted in the text of the Vulgate as "filius dextræ," and in the margin of the A.V. as son of the right hand, assumed to mean fortunate. But it is not בֶּן יָמִין. It was also the smallest tribe but one, and marched with the powerful ranks of Ephraim and Manasseh (Num. ii, 18–24). Its brief period of glory terminated with the suicide of Saul. The tribe was known as the Jeminites, *i.e.*, people of *Yemen;* Southrons, אִישׁ יְמִינִי (1 Sam. ix, 1; Esth. ii, 5), as if the name was ימין, in the margin of the A.V. Son of Jemini, or son of a man of Jemini. Ὁ Σύρος καὶ ὁ Ἑβραῖος τὸν Ἰαμεὶν ὕδωρ βούλονται λέγειν, ἀντὶ τοῦ, ἔυρε πηγὴν ἐν ἐρήμῳ· οἱ δὲ ἑρμηνεύσαντες αὐτήν πως τὴν λέξιν Ἑβραϊκὴν τεθείκασι (Schleusner, s.v.), citing Gen. xxxvi, 24, "ubi LXX et Theod., τὸν Ἰαμεὶν, et Aqu. τοὺς Ἰαμείμ." Therefore we are required, if possible, to find an explanation for the use of Ben, Beniamin, Beniamim, Jamin, Jamim, Benoni, and the meanings, son, son of my right hand, son of days, fountain in the desert, son of On,

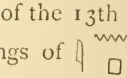
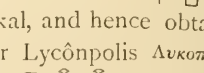
or son of sorrow. Further, we have apparently the unintelligible and inappropriate metaphor, of a wolf devouring in the morning and dividing the spoil at even.

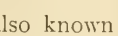
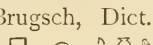
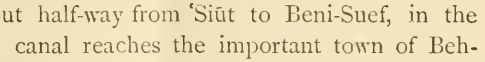
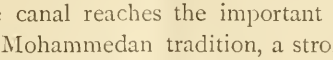
The Hebrew is :—

בִּבֹּ֣קֶר יֹאכַ֣ל עַ֑ד
וְלָעֶ֥רֶב יְחַלֵּ֖ק שָׁלָֽל׃

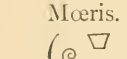
The LLX read :—

Βενιαμὶν λύκος ἅρπαξ
Τὸ πρωΐνὸν ἔδεται ἔτι
Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἑσπέρας δίδωσι τροφήν.

 ⊗ SAUT, the ancient name of the town which the Copts call CIOOϒϮ, the modern town of أسيوط, Assiout or ʿSiūt, lies near the southern mouth of the Ibrahîmé Canal, which now feeds the Bahr Jūsuf. The point at which any lateral canal may receive the water of the Nile varies with the changes in the general system of irrigation. Streams of water in Africa alter their names as they traverse different districts, with the increase in the volume of water or modification of a distinctive characteristic. The Canal from ʿSiūt to Minieh might be known by either name, while its prolongation through Beni-Suef would become the canal of that province. In geographical inscriptions the canal of a town is named like its temple, but it does not follow on that account that this political division included a canal extending between two points on the Nile, with two *embouchures*, to receive and discharge its waters. There is an engineer attached to each considerable district of Egypt, but the Bahr Jūsuf has usually had its own official, whose field of duty follows the canal from Assiout to the Birket el-Qerūn, subject, nevertheless, to the claims of four other engineers who are responsible for the lateral systems. Assiout was the metropolis of the 13th nome of Upper Egypt, with the cult and armorial bearings of  *Ánup*, represented under the form of a jackal, and hence obtaining from the Greeks the name of Lycopolis or Lycônpolis Λυκοπολίτης Νομός, Λυκωνπόλις. Its Egyptian name was  *Áp-uat-Qem'a*, "he who opens the route to the South." It is now the terminus of the Cairo railway, as well as the Fayoum Canal, which

so late as the thirteenth century carried boats with grain into the Khalig of Cairo (*see* for the hieroglyphs, Brugsch, Dict. Geog. p. 662). The region was also known as  *Mu-ḥ-Ḫonti*, Lycopolites (Brugsch, Dict. Geog., p. 618), and it contained a temple called  *Ḥat-Âmp*, "the dwelling-place of the god Anubis." About half-way from 'Siût to Beni-Suef, in the province of Minieh, the canal reaches the important town of Behnesa, according to the Mohammedan tradition, a stronghold of the Ephraimites or Ephratimites. This town with the armorial bearings of the Phœnix, was known as  *Hebennu*.* A hieroglyphic inscription had been found which described a canal (Tômi) of forty cubits, which conveyed the water into  *mu âmenti n't mar*, "the Western waters of the region of the lake," or  *mu n't mar amenti*, "the water of the region of the Western lake." There is no lake of any kind for a hundred miles to the West of Behnesa, and Dr. Brugsch, therefore, said: "Le *mar* dans ce côté de l'Egypte serait donc un autre lac Maréotis dont la tradition classique n'a pas conservé les moindres traces de souvenir." (*See* Dict. Geog., pp. 278 and 1188). Conceding that I have established a Lake Mœris filling the Reian Basin as a Southern Birket-el-Qerūn, this canal was a (subterranean?) passage into the West. The LXX translated לָעֶרֶב *εἰς τὸ ἑσπέρας*, and in distinguishing the Goshen into which the sons of Jacob conducted their flocks, described it as *Γέσεμ τῆς Ἀραβίας*. It was the same *Γέσεμ* of which Syncellus said: *ἡ πρὸς τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ Ἀραβία, i.e.*, the Goshen lying along that region of Masr or Mizraim still called Gauf. When the Israelites left Egypt they were accompanied by "a mixed multitude," *Ghereb Rab*, עֵרֶב רַב. The learned Saadia and the traveller R. Benjamin of Tudela identified the Fayoum with Pithom, or Pi-Tum, "the West," and as the region at the "foot" of the canal, in which the surplus grain of Egypt was stored (Murtadi, *et al. passim*).  Ân (*see* Brugsch, "Dict. Geog.," pp. 43 and 947) naturally associates Oxyrhyncus and its crest, the fish, with the

* See Anepu, le maître du nomê de Saï. Br. D.G., pp. 696, 697.

immense revenue derived from the fisheries in the Reian basin of Mœris. The "right arm" was at Deriūt, and the right leg at Howara (). The Byzantine lexicographer knew another Ἄβαρα, πόλις Ἀραβίας, with its tale of a "λουκοείμων ἀνήρ." The position of the tribe of Benjamin next to the sons of Joseph seems to be established by the identification or survival of the names, their variants and interpretation, and the appropriate simile. The mouth of the canal at Lycopolis engulfed on the east a noble stream of forty cubits with rich tribute. It discharged itself with its burden into the region of the Lake of the West, in the storehouses of "Alph-iom," "the land of a thousand *days*."* The fruitful waters were divided in the fields of the *thousands* of Manasseh, and filled the Horns of the Bow of Joseph.

As a century since a Jewish Rabbi in Old Jewry might have gathered representatives of his race about him, and using the Exchange, the Bank, the purlieus of Houndsditch, the Palace of Westminster, and Windsor Castle, as typical of success in commerce and finance, and degradation, and the peerage with legislative power over Church and State, and the premiership of an Israelite, among the Phœnicians of to-day, so the prophecy of Jacob enumerates well-known monuments on the west bank of the Nile in the province of Gizeh for the sons of Leah and the bondwomen.

Reuben.

> Reuben, thou art my firstborn,
> My might, and the beginning of my strength;
> The excellency of dignity and the excellency of power.
> Unstable as water, thou shalt not have the excellency;
> Because thou wentest up to thy father's bed:
> Then defiledst thou it: he went up to my couch.

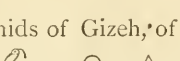
Fragments of granite, and a granite chamber crown the height of Abu-Roash, 500 feet above the plain. The summit was squared and revetted. There is nothing to show what splendid monument worthy of the engineers of Mœris and the sculptors of the Labyrinth adorned its summit at the time of the Exodus. The unrivalled situation of ראשית אוני, the western pillar of the great gate of the Nile, at Bab-el-On (Heliopolis), doubtless secured for it some suitable structure, important enough to require the road which still climbs the

* *See* this fanciful derivation in Murtadi.

hill. But the Beni-Reuben (or Reubel) followed the waters of the Nile into *Qem'a* (פַּחַז בַּמַּיִם) and intermarrying with the natives, tainted the ancestral blood; (compare the love potion in Gen. xxx, 14). So far as his descendants by Reuben were concerned, the efforts and sacrifices of Jacob to preserve the purity of the race of Abraham were nullified. Like Esau, Reuben took to itself wives of alien blood. Tempted by the fields of Northern Gizeh, it sold its birthright, and the double portion passed to the eldest son of the second wife. Leaders in the rebellion of Korah, they were crushed in the attempt to check the sacerdotal tendency of the Hebrew polity.

Simeon and Levi.

Simeon and Levi are brethren ;
Weapons of violence are their swords.
O my soul, come not thou into their council ;
Unto their assembly, my glory, be not thou united ;
For in their anger they slew a man,
And in their selfwill they houghed an ox.
Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce ;
And their wrath, for it was cruel :
I will divide them in Jacob,
And scatter them in Israel.

The *haramīn*, the two pyramids of Gizeh, of which the northern is said to have been called  *χut*, "the shining Light," and the second and loftier , "the great" overlooked the birthplace of Moses, according to the Jewish, Greek, and Mohammedan traditions. These tribes would appear to have been identified in the time of Herodotus with the shepherd Philition (Philistines). The destruction of local shrines made a lasting impress on history. If one were inclined to attribute to Aaron, as the Jewish Tyrtæus, the composition of this poem, these words would seem to exclude a Levite, and any occasion similar to that suggested by Dr. Dillmann. It is quite in keeping with the tolerant nature of Jacob (Gen. xxxiv) to denounce the iconoclasm with which Manetho upbraided the Hierosolymites. "Cheops and Chephren" were reputed to have been men of violence, who destroyed the rock-hewn grottoes, which they filled in from above. (See "The Topography of the Pyramids;" the Proc. of Am. Soc. of Civil Engineers; "The Pyramid-Builders;" and other Papers in the Library of this Society, and compare

Herodotus.) It is strange that those who permit themselves an unbridled license in dealing with the authorship of the Pentateuch, have never observed that on their principle of interpretation the distressing incident of the destruction of the Shechemites should be treated as a highly imaginative amplification of this verse (Gen. xlviii, 42). As the Spaniards destroyed the temple mounds of Mexico, the Christian invaders of India, had they been more numerous, might have shattered the columns in Karli, and hewn down the façade at Ajunga. If they had, in poetic language, thus hamstrung the sacred Ox of the Hindoos, posterity would have cursed their anger, for its fierceness, and their wrath, for its needless cruelty. The priestly tribe destroyed Isis (אִישׁ) and crippled Osiris (Apis-Mnevis). They paid the penalty. They were driven across the Nile into the quarries of Turra (Manetho). Osarsiph was never known by his Jewish or tribal name. Moses, born at Heliopolis, the man of ta-Šê, like it redeemed from water, was one of those former neighbours of On, who, being already divided in Jacob, were, in the second year of the Exodus, distributed among the tribes of Israel. In some such way as this the revolting incident of the murder of Hamor is relegated to its proper obscurity, and instead of it we have in pregnant words the religious war which Josephus accepted as historical truth.

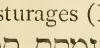
Judah.

Judah, thee shall thy brethren praise :
Thy hand shall be on the neck of thine enemies ;
Thy father's sons shall bow down before thee.

Judah is a lion's whelp ;
From the prey, my son, thou art gone up :
He stooped down, he couched as a lion,
And as a lioness ; who shall rouse him up ?

The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,
Nor the ruler's staff from between his feet,
Until Shiloh come ;
And unto him shall the obedience of the peoples be.

Binding his foal unto the vine,
And his ass's colt unto the choice vine ;
He hath washed his garments in wine,
And his vesture in the blood of grapes
His eyes shall be red with wine,
And his teeth white with milk.


Ḥu, יְהוּדָה, Jehudah, the Andro-lion, the Sphinx or Strangler, Abu-Haūl, or Father of Terror, stooped down and couched as a lion, with his paw on the neck of the Nile (אֹרִיב,) and the fellahīn of the Delta. Who shall rouse him up? Gizeh was the chief town of the Northern Israelites. The temple between the feet of the sphinx, and the broad terrace paved with basalt in front of the pyramids, survive to mark the judgment seat of all the tribes to the north of Beni-Suef, or, in other words, until one came to Shiloh. Here Moses was born. This was the starting point of the Exodus (Josephus, Antoninus Martyr, Arabic historians). From its pasturages (Herodotus) or campagna, and the Succoth or Booths (מֵרַעְמְסֵס סֻכֹּתָה) in its  *Sekt*, the array of the oppressed moved southward, falling back on Howara-Goshen (See *Proceedings*, March, 1885). In the Augustan age, Strabo says of the Fayoum: "This nome is the most considerable of all in appearance, natural properties, and embellishment. It produces wine in abundance. It has also the noteworthy Lake Mœris, which in extent is a sea." The evaporation from the lake made the grapes as well as olives full of juice. The short route from the Fayoum to Gizeh, with strings of asses bearing skins and jars of wine bound the two places. The Sphinx, a rural divinity (Pliny), presided over the wine mart of the Arsinoïte nome as well as the curds of the adjacent pasturages. Red paint is still visible upon the face. Binding their foals to the vine, and their asses' colts unto the choice vine, the garments of the children of Judah were stained with the blood of the grapes. Perhaps they carried symbolism so far as to wash with white the teeth of the image carved out of a spur of the Pyramid hill.

Zebulon.

> Zebulon shall dwell at the haven of the sea;
> And he shall be for an haven of ships;
> And his border shall be upon Zidon.

At high Nile there is a sea of waters. The distinction between a river and a lake or sea is not usually observed with any especial care by Semitic writers. الصعيد is the well-known equivalent for this part of Egypt. The Haven of Ships was the earlier Saïda or Zidon below Memphis.

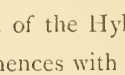
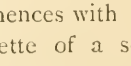
ISSACHAR.

Issachar is a strong ass,
Couching down between the sheepfolds :
And he saw a resting place that it was good.
And the land it was pleasant ;
And he bowed his shoulder to bear,
And became a servant unto taskwork.

, Men-nefer, Μεμφε, Memphis was "the resting-place that is good," for the living and the dead. The Israelites bewailed the sepulchres at Saqqara as they abandoned the corpses of their loved ones to the jackal and the vulture of the desert. Within the white-walled fortress the tribe of Issachar found employment, and eat the bread of industry with no more personal sense of degradation than the Scotch who exchanged the precarious life of the Highlands for work and wages under the castle of Edinburgh.

DAN.

Dan shall judge his people,
As one of the tribes of Israel ;
Dan shall be a serpent in the way,
An adder in the path,
That biteth the horse's heels
So that his rider falleth backward.
I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord.

 T'ān, ϮΑΝΙ, Tanis (Pierret, 725), may be identified with the plain of Tanis (Antoninus M.), the Tanis-Zoan-Memphis-Mizraim of Josephus, Theodoret, and Benjamin of Tudela, and as  *t'ent*, the judgment-seat of the Hyk-Sos. The great geographical papyrus of Mœris commences with a vertical line of hieroglyphs followed by a large vignette of a serpent, crowned, upon a throne. (See my paper in the Volume to be presented to Dr. Leemans). The region formerly occupied by the Shepherds, said Manetho, was Typhonian. If these verses were written in hieroglyphs, a paronomasia would suggest itself in  *t'en*, to turn aside from a path, and  *t'ennu*, a path. That Zoan was Memphis-Mizraim does not, in my judgment, admit of a doubt. The efforts of Asher and others to discredit the explicit

statements of R. Benjamin are puerile in the extreme, and display that lamentable ignorance of the physical conditions of Egypt which have so materially retarded research. The Serpent of Dan may perhaps belong to the same class of simile as the Lion of Judah, and the Wolf of Benjamin.

GAD.

Gad, a troop shall press upon him:
But he shall press upon their heel.

This verse is most instructive as showing in the Hebrew, גָּד גְּדוּד יְגוּדֶנּוּ וְהוּא יָגֻד עָקֵב, that paronomasia is a striking characteristic of these oracles.

ASHER.

Asher, his bread shall be fat,
And he shall yield royal dainties.

The immense pyramids of Dashur, fairly comparable in size to the large masses at Gizeh, dominate, as all other pyramids in Egypt, a route from the Fayoum.

NAPHTALI.

Naphtali is a hind let loose,
He giveth goodly words.

Lisht is at an entrance to the Fayoum. A terebinth tree was used as the symbol of the adjacent district. This would strengthen the opinion that Naphtali is compared to a tree, not a deer, putting forth goodly branches where the valley widens.

Mr. Theo. G. Pinches read a Paper on "An Early Babylonian Deed of Brotherhood."

Dry and uninteresting as are the valuable and almost indispensible bilingual lists and phrase-tablets of the Babylonians and Assyrians, to almost all but the word-seeker; phrases are nevertheless to be found in them, at times, which interest also on account of the glimpses they afford into the private life of these ancient nations. Thus we have a number of expressions referring to increase, profit, income, or taxes of a city; others referring to debts and interest on

loans; to the different kinds of prices—the "complete," and the "incomplete"—possible in trade-affairs; to the selling of slaves; to setting them free; and also, to the making of a kind of partnership or brotherhood in which the parties share alike, both as to the labour and the profits. With reference to the last-named, which is the subject of this paper, we find such expressions as *azag nam-tabba* = *kasap tappê*, "silver" or "money of partnership" or "of a partner" (*tappû*, from the Akkadian 𒁹 *tab*, lit.: "double"); also *ašag nam-tabba* = *êḳil tappûti*, "a field of partnership" or "brotherhood," in the phrases *ašag nam-tabba ki-lugal-ašagga-*[*ta*] = *êḳil tappûti itti bêl êḳli* "a field of partnership with the lord of a field," and *ašag nam-tabba-*[*ḳime*] *iptaê* = [*kima êḳli*] *tappûti* [*ušêṣi*], "he caused it to go forth (probably meaning" to be carried on "[as] a field of partnership"—referring, most likely, to a custom common in early times in Babylonia, in which two landowners, whose fields lay side by side, agreed to regard them as one, helping each other to till the ground, and sharing equally in the profits. That this really was the case is implied by the phrases which, in the text from which I am quoting, immediately follow those given above. These additional phrases (which are in Akkadian only, the Assyrian column being broken away) are as follows: *Lu lua-ḳime*, *aga ga*-ḳime*, *šekul šekula*-ḳime*, *ašēš ingagane*, "man like man, work like work, grain like grain, as one (? together) they make." Such is the information which we get from the Assyrian and Babylonian phrase-books, and it is the more interesting, in that we have here the usual formulas employed by the ancient Akkadians in drawing up the legal record or certificate of the deed. As the word for "partner" (*tappû*) in Babylonian was borrowed from the Akkadian 𒁹 *tab*, it is probable that the institution of the custom of entering into partnership originated with them, and not with the Semitic Babylonians. The abstract noun is formed in the usual way with the ending *-ûtu*, making the word *tapputu*, "partnership," "brotherhood." It is this word, in the texts which follow, which has been misunderstood by the scholars who have formerly translated them; the phrase giving the key to the whole, *tapṭûtam êṭušû*, "made brotherhood" (*êpêšu*, "to make"), having been wrongly rendered "had a dispute."

The text is one of those said to come from Tell-Sifr in South Babylonia, the well-known case-tablets. The document is, like all the

* Reading doubtful.

other texts of the collection to which it belongs, preserved in duplicate, the inscription on the tablet itself being, as usual, the more complete, whilst the inscription on the envelope is mutilated by several fractures. By a careful study of both texts, however, I have been able to restore the wanting parts of the version on the envelope with almost perfect certainty, and full copies and translations of both versions, with all the variants noted, are now given for the first time.

The text refers to the deed of partnership or brotherhood entered into by two men, Ṣini-Innanna and Iriba^{m}-Sin, and to the ceremonies, etc., which accompanied this (to the ancient Babylonians) sacred rite. On the occasion of the ratification, they took a judge with them, and went down to the temple of the Sun-god. Each had to make a gift, apparently, to the temple, of two slaves. and then was proclaimed in the temple of the Sun-god and the Moon-god the following moral precept: "Brother shall be kind to brother; brother shall not be angry with, shall not injure, brother; and a brother shall not harbour any angry thought as to anything about which a brother has disputed."* They then swore by the names of Innannaki (the Moon-god), Utu (the Sun-god), Marduk (Merodach), Lugal-ki-ušuna, and by the name of Ḳîmta-rapaštum or Ḫammurabi the king. The document bears the names of several witnesses, and, at the end, the date: "month Adar of the year when Ḫammurabi the king made (images of) Innanna and Nanâ."

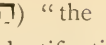
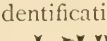
[*The text of the tablet will appear in the next number, with transliteration and translation.*]

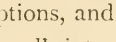
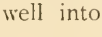
The following Communication has been received from Mr. Theo. G. Pinches:—

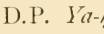
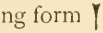
Note upon the Divine Name 𒀭𒈾 𒆠𒆠.

Among the names of the Assyrian gods is one. represented by the characters 𒀭𒈾 𒆠𒆠, which most scholars, at the present time, read Malik or Malkatu. In the former case it seems to have been regarded as masculine, and was identified with the well-known god

*Literally: "over anything which a brother to a brother has disputed, anything he shall not have."

Moloch (הַמֹּלֶךְ) "the abomination" of the Ammonites. The reason of the identification of with Molech was, that the name of a god  *Ma-lik* = Molech, actually occurs in the Assyrian inscriptions, and the group , with this pronunciation, read very well into several proper names, both Assyrian and otherwise.*

Among the names of officials given by the Eponym Canon is one (the eponymy for the year 822 B.C.) expressed by the characters , D.P. *Ya-ḫa-lu*, but a variant found on another copy has the interesting form , D.P. *A-a-ḫa-a-lu* (*Aa-ḫâlu*), showing that (as in the case of the pronoun *-ya*) *Ya* prefixed to a name could also be expressed by *Aa* (*Â*). It is, in fact, the same kind of variant as is found in the case of *Ḫa-za-ki-ia-u* (*Ḥazaḳi-Yau*, *Ḥazakîau*) חִזְקִיָּהוּ Ἐζεκίας, *Hezekiah*, and , *Ṣi-id-ḳa-a* (*Ṣiḍḳaa*, *Ṣiḍḳâ*) צִדְקָיָה, צִדְקִיָּהוּ, *Zedekiah*, in the latter of which *Ṣiḍḳiâ* has been weakened into *Ṣiḍḳâ*.

Now this view of the god *Aa* or *Ya* makes it needful to change the name of the Edomite king  (mentioned by Sennacherib) from *Malik-rammu* (as it has hitherto been read) to *Aa-rammu* or *Â-rammu* (= *Yâ-rammu*), apparently the same as the Heb. יוֹרָם, *Joram*. So, also, the name of the eponymy for B.C. 887, , is neither *Âbi-Malik*, nor *Âbu-ili-ya*, but *Âbi-Aa* or *Âbi-Â* (= *Âbi-Yâ*) אֲבִיָּה, *Abijah*.†

The above is only a comparatively small portion of the evidence which can be brought in support of this view, which will, I think, turn out to be the correct one. Its importance in the question of the history of religion also will not be overlooked.

* Professor J. Oppert was the first to propose the reading of Malik for the group *Revue Archéologique*, 1868.

† The following are some additional names, found in the Assyrian inscriptions, containing the element *Aa* or *Ya*: *Aššur-Aa*, *Šamaš-Aa* or *Šamaš-Yâ*, *Ninip-Aa*, *Nergal-Aa*, *Yâ-šûmu* (an Aramean), and *Yâ-kîn* (also an Aramean, the founder of a tribe to which Merodach-baladan belonged). The god Aa has naturally nothing to do with the goddess Aa, the moon as consort of the sun-god.

The following Communication has been received from Professor W. Wright, LL.D. :—

In the new French *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*, no. II., M. Ledrain has published from photographs, "sur des photographies," three Palmyrene inscriptions, the originals of which have been exhibited for a considerable time in the British Museum.

In a small, almost already overcrowded room off one of the Assyrian saloons, the visitor will perceive fixed against the wall, at some height from the ground, no less than seven busts from Palmyra. Two of these have been already described, and of another the inscription has been broken or cut off. There remain four, three of which have been partially read by M. Ledrain from his photographs, *loc. cit.*, pp. 74–76.

I. Ledrain, no. 2. The monument exhibits distinctly :—

LEFT	RIGHT
בר בורפא	חבל והבלת
אחיתור	בר בולחא

Alas! Wahballât, son of Bôlḥâ, son of Bôrphâ Aḥîthûr.

Wahballât, "the gift of (the goddess) Allât," is one of the most common names at Palmyra. *Bôlḥâ* probably stands for *Bôl-lĕḥâ*, "Bôl hath wiped out (sin)," as *Bôrphâ*, a common name, for *Bôl-rĕphâ*, "Bôl hath healed,"=רפאבול, רפבול, *Rĕphâ-bôl* (see Euting, *Epigraphische Miscellen*, Sitzungsberichte d. k. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1885, No. xxxv, nos. 7, 13, 19, 37). On *Bôl* as the name of a deity compare D. H. Müller, *Vier palmyren. Grabinschriften*, Sitzungsberichte d. k. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Wien, 1884, Bd cviii, Heft 3, p. 975, or p. 5 of the tirage à part. אחיתור is perfectly distinct on the stone.

II. Ledrain, no. 3. The stone has suffered a good deal in places, but the first three lines are distinct.

Tibôl, son of	תיבול בר
Lishmesh Tibôl	לשמש תיבול
the elder. Alas!	רבא חבל

The fourth line is indistinct at the beginning, the fifth and sixth at the end, the last throughout. I seem to read:—

which restored 'Azîz, son of	די חדת עזיז בר
Tibôl, who	תיבול די
is called	מתקרא
Dabrâ.	דברא

'Azîz (not in this case *'Azîzû*), with the surname Dabrâ, repaired the monument of his father Tibôl, son of Lishmesh Tibôl the elder. The name תיבול is clear upon the stone, but I am not sure of the pronunciation.* לשמש means of course "dedicated to (the worship of) the Sun-god." The name דברא is not quite certain as to the reading and pronunciation. חדת = חדת. For די מתקרא see, for example, De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions Sémitiques*, p. 21, no. 17, line 2.

III. Ledrain, no. 4. This monument is interesting on account of its date. I read as follows.

LEFT	RIGHT
שנת	חבל
⌐\|\|\|\|	עלא
≻ ʔ	ברת
	ירחי
	אבב

Alas! 'Allâ, daughter of Yarḥai Abâb. In the year 425.

The sign for 400 is ⌐\|\|\|\|, for 20 ʔ, and for 5 ≻ (see Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien*, pp. 96, 97, a most important work, to which I am happy to call the attention of our members). The era is the Seleucian, and the year corresponds to A.D. 113–114. On the female name עלא see De Vogüé, *op. cit.*, p. 67, no. 98. ירחי is a common name, written in Greek Ἰαραῖος, De Vogüé, *op. cit.*, p. 20. אבב is distinct on the stone, but I do not know the right pronunciation.

* Possibly a Greek Θεόβουλος.

IV. This inscription is mutilated at the beginning, and the last line is likewise uncertain. I read :—

.	
. *b*-(?)	ב
tâ, daughter of	תא ברת
'Ogailû Shal-	עגילו של
mâwî, wife of	מוי אתת
Rabb-'êl Yarḥa	רבאל ירח
th (?)	* י ע ת

On עגילו, Ὄγηλος, see De Vogüé, *op. cit.*, p. 50, no. 70, and P. Schroeder, *Neue Palmyrenische Inschriften*, Sitzungsberichte d. k. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1884, No. xxi, p. 440, or p. 24 of the tirage à part, no. 7. The name of שלמוי is quite clear on the stone, though the pronunciation is uncertain. אתת *attath*, by assimilation for אנתת, *antath*, Syr. ܐܢܬܬ. I read רבאל, "great is 'Êl," and not דבאל. ירחת, if rightly read, can hardly be correct ; but I know not what to make of the preceding marks, if they be really letters. It should be noted that they are quite out of the line of the ת. Taking these for letters, the first is quite illegible, the second might be י, and the third ע.

CAMBRIDGE, 17 *October*, 1885.

[*The Plates will be issued with the December Number of the Proceedings.*]

The following Communication has been received from Dr. A. Wiedemann.

THE QUEEN PEKERSALA, OF THE BEGINNING OF THE SAITIC PERIOD.

The time in which the rise of the XXVIth dynasty took place in Egypt is very little known. It is true that we have learned by the cuneiform documents in these last years very much about the wars of Assyria against Egypt, and that by these the fall of the Ethiopic dynasty became very clear in its motives. We know now that this event was not only caused by a national revolution against the foreign invaders of the Nile valley, but that the victories reported

by Assyrian troops from Taharka and Urdumane have thrown down the power of these kings, and forced them to return to Ethiopia. Thus it was made very easy to the Saitic dynasts, who were friends of Assyria, to prohibit the Ethiopics, who had lost their authority by the subsequent defeats, to return to Egypt. The Saits became, on account of this, not only the most popular princes of the different dynasties who then divided between them the government of Egypt, but also by and by the masters of all the country, forcing the other dynasts to give up their positions. So far all is clear, but there is another factor in all these events, of which we know nearly nothing: it is the important part which an Ethiopic family took in it.

It was the family to which the kings Pianchi and Kašta belonged, from which the queen Šep-en-âpet, the wife of Psammetich I issued, and on the connection with which the Psammetichides based their legitimacy and their rights on the Egyptian throne. A few years ago I tried to put together all the indications relating to this family and its members found till then, and published these notes in my "Handbuch der aeg. Geschichte," p. 588, *sqq*. One of the there quoted monuments is unpublished till now, notwithstanding its importance for the history of the XXVth dynasty. Here are its inscriptions:—

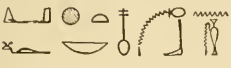
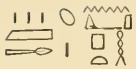
The monument, actually in the Museum of Bologna, No. 2995, is a stela of the ordinary shape, rounded at the top. The style of the execution and of the hieroglyphs shows the typical forms of the beginning of the Saitic period; the writing is clear, and the different signs very distinct; also the conservation of the monument is a good one, so that the text of the inscription has nearly no defect.

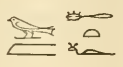
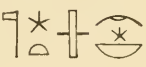
Underneath the winged sun-disk we see a register with the ordinary representation: Osiris with his crown is sitting and holding the sceptre and the whip; behind him stands Isis, the cow-horns and the sun-disk on her head, and stretching out her wings. Before her is her name  "Isis." On the other side of Osiris stands an altar, and behind it two men in adoration. Above this scene are eight vertical lines of an inscription which gives the names of the represented persons. Above Osiris we read:—

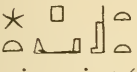
(1)  (2)  (3) 

(1) "Osiris in the Amenthi, (2) the great god, the lord of Ab-(3)ydos."

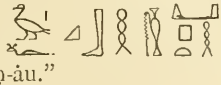
Above the adoring men :—

(4)  (5)  (6) 

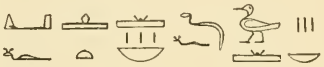
(7)  (8)  (9) 

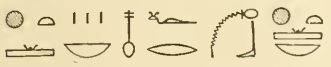
 "He (Osiris) gives all good and pure things to the libation-priest (5) of the great queen Ḥor-t-âr-u (6) the deceased, the son of Ṭu-ptaḥ-(7)âu, the deceased. His son (8), the older of his own body is (9) one of the palace servants of the divine wife, and priest of all months of the divine wife Peṭu-ḥes-t."

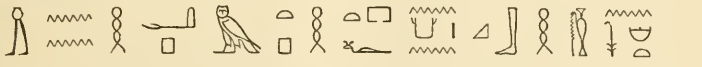
The ninth line has been written between the two adoring men, the place above of the persons having not been large enough to contain the whole inscription.

Below this representation is the real stela-inscription, in six horizontal lines running from right to left. Behind the first four lines we find one vertical line giving the consecution of the upper text, and behind it an adoring man. The line gives the name of this man, of  "his son, the libation-priest Ṭu-ptaḥ-âu."

The horizontal text is this :—

(1)  (2) 

(3)  (4) 

(5) 

(6) 

"(1) Royal offering to Ra-Harmachis, the great god, the superior of the gods, (2) that he may give all sorts of offerings, all sorts of gifts (3) all good and pure things, all (4) sweet and agreeable things given in the heaven, the created things (5) brought by the Nile out of his whole to the person of the libation-priest of the great queen (6) Pe-ker-sa-lâ, the deceased, Ḥor-âr-u, the deceased, born by the lady of the house, Te-χent-en-sem."

By this inscription we get the following genealogical list for Ḥor-âr-u's family :—

Ṭu-Ptaḥ-âu. Te-χent-en-sem.

Ḥor-âr-u.

Pe-ṭu-Ḥes-t. Ṭu-Ptaḥ-âu.

To members of the same family belonged perhaps a stela of Apis in the Louvre Museum, which quotes the following names (Lieblein, "Dict. des Noms," No. 1033) :—

Ṭu-Ptaḥ-âau Ptaḥ-pa-âau.

Pe-ṭu-Ḥes-t the lady of the house, Ānχ-s.

Tu-Ptaḥ-âau.

The position of the different persons appearing on our stela was not very elevated. Two of them were libation-priests—one of the lowest classes of the Egyptian clergy. Of the third more functions are indicated, but also not very high ones. He was first  "one of the men being in the palace of the queen." Several functionaries bearing this title must have existed at the same time, as we know by inscriptions of the time of queen Ānch-en-s-Ra-nefer-âb. There existed then a "a president of the *âm χent*," named Ra-uaḥ-âb, who was the father of the  Psemtek. Probably *âm χent* was the title of the different persons having employment in the harem of an Egyptian queen. Besides this position Pe-ṭu-ḥest held the place of a  of the queen. The title  is very well known. It designates the man who belonged to his month, the month-priest; it is to be said, as Brugsch ("Hierogl. Wörterbuch," V, p. 72) pointed out, the man who had to accomplish in a certain month of the year the different sacred performances prescribed to a temple. The title found on our monument shows that this position could be amplificated, and that one and the same priest could be charged with the accomplishment of all rites necessary during the months of the year; but also this position appears to have been not a very distinguished one.

The designation of the queen as  is not very old. It appears to have been used as a rule only since the XXIst dynasty.

and was probably first the title of a priestess of Amon at Thebes, which became a queen's title in the moment when the high priests of Amon and their wives obtained the throne of Egypt. After the XXIst dynasty the title was more seldomly used, till during the XXVIth dynasty it became again the fashion. Its use on our stela is one proof more that the monument belongs to the Saitic period.

The name of the queen, Pekersalâ, is otherwise not known. Its formation shows an un-Egyptian fashion, and reminds us of the names of the Ethiopic queens, as Peleχa and others; so that it is not probable that it belongs to the later period of the XXVIth dynasty, where the names are of a more Egyptian origin, and of which besides the queens' names are known to us. As the stela was found in Egypt, the queen must have reigned here, and cannot belong to a dynasty of mere Ethiopic character. All these points together make the hypothesis very probable that we have to see in Pekersalâ a queen of an Ethiopic dynasty which ruled over Egypt, or a part of it, and that we have to put her at the beginning of the 7th century.

For this time only two families can come in question—the family to which the kings of the XXVth dynasty belonged, or the family of king Kašta. Of the former we know a longer series of queens' names, but Pekersalâ is not among them. Also it appears not very probable that she should have belonged to this dynasty, as the wanting of her name on the very numerous monuments of these kings would be very curious, the more so as she must have had a certain importance, a fact which is proved by her deification on our stela. Under these circumstances it appears to me to be very likely that Pekersalâ belonged to the other king-family of this time, to the family of Kašta, and was so one of the ancestresses of Psammetich I. Till now it is impossible to make out her exact place in the genealogy of the family, because the number of monuments dated of this time is too small, but it will be good to note the name of queen Pekersalâ, as it may turn out one day to be an important point for the reconstruction of the history of the rise of the Saitic dynasty.

Bonn, *4th August*, 1885.

ERRATA, PROCEEDINGS, No. LIV.

Page 175, line 5, *for* 'Ομελιά, *read* 'Ομηλία.

Page 177, last line, *for* brother of Khane, *read* brother Khane.

Page 178, insert N between E and A, in the second line of the inscription; and read V, instead of LI, in the last line.

Page 178, last line but two, *for* shows, *read* show.

Page 185, line 23, *insert* out, *after* clean.

Page 200, line 9, *for* ἀδελρός *read* ἀδελφός.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 1st December, 1885, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read :—

Mr. Joseph Jacobs :—"Are there Totem-Clans in the Old Testament?"

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

SIXTEENTH SESSION, 1885-86.

Second Meeting, 1st December, 1885.

SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Society of Antiquaries :—The Proceedings. Second Series. Vol. X, No. 2. January 31st to June 26th, 1884. 8vo. London. 1885.

From the Geological Society :—The Quarterly Journal. Vol. XLI, Part 4. No. 164. November 2, 1885.

—— List of the Geological Society of London. November, 1885.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects :—The Journal of Proceedings. Vol. II, New Series. Nos. 2 and 3. 4to. 1885.

From the Anthropological Institution of Great Britain and Ireland :—The Journal. Vol. XV, No. 2. 8vo. London, 1885.

From the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland :—The Archæological Journal. Vol. XLII, No. 167. 1885. 8vo. London.

From the Canadian Institute, Toronto :—Proceedings, Third Series. Vol. III. Fasciculus No. 2. 8vo. Toronto. 1885.

From the Author :—Un Poème Satyrique composé à l'occasion de la maladie du poète musicien Hérault d'Insurrection Hor-ut'a (ΑΡΥΩΘΗΣ) (Papyrus de Vienne). Par Eugene Revillout. 4to. Paris. 1885.

From the Author :—Étude sur la Chorographie d'Éphèse, avec un Plan. Par Professeur Georges Weber. Two parts. 8vo. Smyrna, 1884.

From the Author :—Additions and Corrections to the fifth Volume of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, IV. and V. Two texts from Sippara of the Sungod. Additional Notes to the same :—By Theo. G. Pinches.

Reprinted from the Zeitsch. für Keilschriftforschung II, 3 and 4.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the Meeting on November 3rd, 1885 :—

E. G. Keen, Warwick, Chester Co., Penna., U.S.A.
Rev. F. H. Chase, M.A., 2, Trumpington Street, Cambridge.
E. B. W. Balmer, Loughrig, Ambleside.
W. Muir Farquhar, 114, Beaufort Street, Chelsea, S.W.
Rev. Angus Crawford, Mount Hall, New Jersey, U.S.A.

To be added to the List of Subscribers :—

The Academical Oriental Society, Berlin. Hubert Grimme, Secretary, Unter den Linden, No. 3.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on January 12th, 1886 :—

Rev. George Hilley Gilbert, Dorset, Belmont, U.S.A.
Sidney Herbert, Carlton Street, Cheltenham.
William Greenwood Hird, 25, Cordingley Street, Bradford.

Mr. Joseph Jacobs read a Paper entitled, "Are there Totem-Clans in the Old Testament?"

The investigation of "survivals" often enables us to penetrate into the social arrangements of prehistoric times. Thus Maclennan's investigations into the form of capture in marriage ceremonies brought him to the theory of the origin of the family in the totem-clan consisting of members worshipping (and not eating) a totem animal, whose name they inherit from their mother, and marrying only outside the clan (exogamy). This theory is now widely accepted by anthropologists, and was applied first by Maclennan to Jews in the *Fortnightly Review*, 1870, and then by Professor W. R. Smith to Arabs and Jews in the *Journal of Philology*, 1880, an application tested and modified in the present paper, which discusses traces of totem worship under the following heads :—

I. *Animal names.* A list given of 160 persons with such names (against only 30 by W. R. Smith). These, mostly personal not clan names, and of the former not so many as would be found among Englishmen (3 per cent.). But in one case, the clans of Edom (Gen. xxxvi) and their offshoot Caleb (Dog Tribe), these names too frequent to be mere chance. Probable totemism among nomad Edomites.

II. *Exogamy and descent through females* are characteristic of the totem arrangement. Some indications of former among Seirites were pointed out by Professor Smith, and these are supplemented in the present paper by many indications among lists of Israelite clans (Num. xxvi), of clans of same name in different tribes, as would happen under a totem system. A distinct reference to exogamy in the case of Ibzan the Judge (Judges xii, 9). Instances of descent reckoned through female in Abraham's marriage (half-sister being unrelated through female kinship), &c., but these could be explained by polygamy as well as totemism.

III. *Ancestor worship* seen in Teraphim, Elohim as ghosts (witch of Endor) sacrifices to dead (Is. viii, 19: Ps. cvi, 28; Pirke Aboth, iii, 5; Judges ix, 13). Smith sees in David a member of serpent clan, because one of his ancestors was named Nahshon, the father named Nahash, he has Teraphim, and there was a brazen serpent in king's palace. This doubtful, since the last is attributed to Moses, and the descent is not traced through females. If true,

introduced by Ruth, Moabitess, and cannot conclude for all Israel. Ancestor worship a later stage than animal worship.

IV. *Animal worship* seen in the Golden Calf, brazen serpent, second commandment ("things which are in heaven above," &c. = birds, beasts, and fishes), and in Isaiah lxvi, 17. Cardinal passage, Ezekiel viii, 11, creeping beasts and abominations, "and all the idols of house of Israel" with Jaaphaniah ben Shaphan (Coney) officiating as priest. But (1) a vision (2), the name a piece of irony=William Ewart Disraeli, (3) probably introduced from Egypt, (4) no other traces of the totem *clan* arrangement so late.

V. *Forbidden Food.* No satisfactory explanation has hitherto been given. As a survival of totem tabu, the religious horror explained. It was characteristic of Judaism to utilize earlier religion for purer purposes, *e.g.*, sacrifice. Difficulties, (1) many names of "clean" beasts in our list (43 clean to 42 unclean), (2) tolerably simple explanation as survival of folk medicine. Result: a few of anomalies, *e.g.*, Coney, can be explained as "survivals" of totem worship.

VI. *Tattooing and clan crests.* Former in Lev. xix, 28, also probably referred to Deut. xxxii, 5. Latter in Jacob's and Moses' blessing, *cf.* mediæval heraldry of the twelve tribes.

VII. *Blood feud and wergild* existed in Bible times, but the *Goel* was unconnected with totems.

Conclusion. If anthropology regards totemism as a necessary or usual stage in social development:

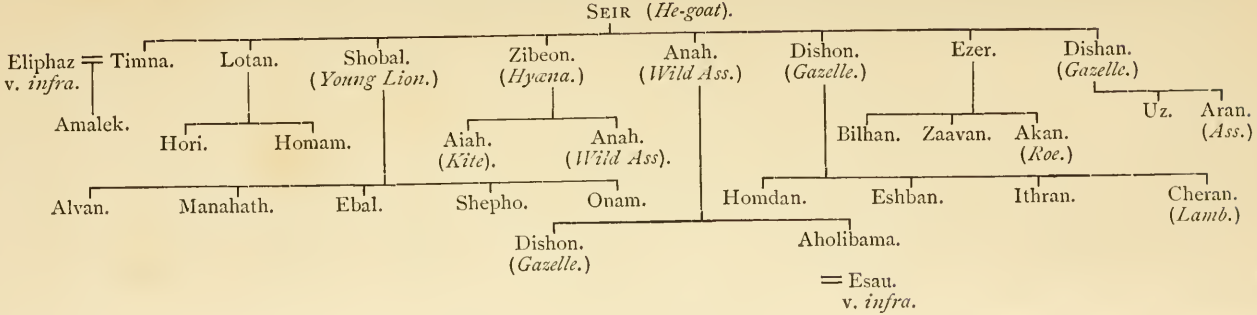
(1). There is sufficient evidence of the existence of totem clans among the nomad Edomites. (W. R. Smith.)

(2). We have seen sufficient 'survivals' of totemism in the personal and tribe-names, in the forbidden food, tattooing, and clan-crests, in the ancestor-worship, animal-images, and blood-feud of the Israelites to warrant the assumption that they were once organised on the totem system.

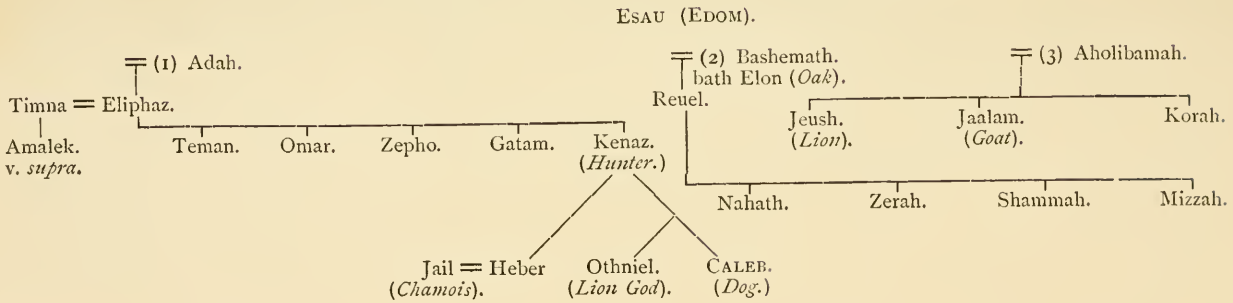
(3). But Professor Smith's specific instances of David as a member of a serpent clan, and the existence of totem rites in the temple at the time of Ezekiel, are unjustified.

Remarks were added by Rev. A. Löwy, Rev. W. Wright, D.D., Mr. Abrahams, Rev. Isidore Harris, Mr. J. Offord, jun., Rev. J. Marshall, Mr. Jacobs, and the President.

I.—GENEALOGY OF THE HORITES.

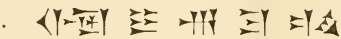
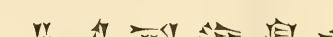
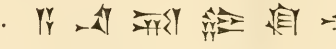
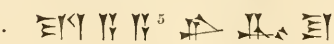


II.—GENEALOGY OF THE EDOMITES.



The following is the continuation of the Paper by Mr. Pinches, too late for publication in the November number of the *Proceedings* :—

TEXT OF THE INNER TABLET TRANSCRIBED INTO THE LATE BABYLONIAN CHARACTER.

1. [1]
2. [2]
3. [3]
4. [4]
5. [5]
6. [6][7]
7. [8]
8. [9]
9. [10]

[1] The case has traces of other characters after , the last being .

[2] The case adds .

[3] The case has , implying the variant *ta-ab* for *tab*.

[4] Variant . The case has also a doubtful word after *tazkîti*, which may be .

[5] The case has a character before the second , the traces of which lend themselves to , implying the variant *dâ'anu*.

[6] The case has two characters before *ana*, which look like *a-nu*, most likely *dâanu*.

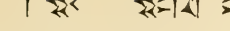
[7] Variant (?) .

[8] The case here inserts the following: .

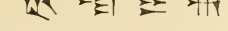
[9] The case here inserts the following: .

[10] The case here adds (?) .

10. [7]

11. 

12. [2]

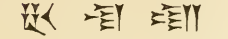
13. 

14. 

15. [3]

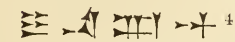
16. [4]

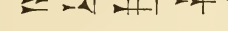
17. 

18. [5]

REVERSE.

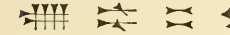
19. [6]

20. [7] 

21. 

22. 

23 [7]

24. 

25. 

[1] Variant .

[2] The case here inserts .

[3] The case here adds .

[4] Variant

[5] Variant .

[6] The case has , the last character of a word, before *a-ḫu-um*.

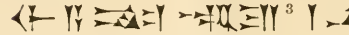
[7] These lines are left out on the case, and inserted instead.

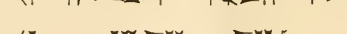
26. 

27. 

28. 

29.

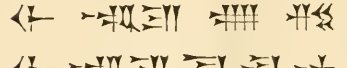
30. 

31. 

32. 

33. 

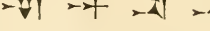
34.

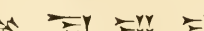
35. 

The case adds the following line after line 32:—

and has the following additional name in the list of witnesses:—

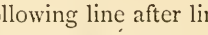


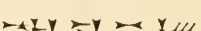
[1] The case here inserts .

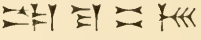
[2] Here  is added.

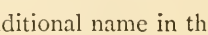
[3] The case adds .

[4] The case adds .

[5] Here the characters  are added.

[6] Here the characters  are added.

[7] The case adds .

[8] Here the case adds .

[9] The case gives more correctly .

Transcription and Literal Translation of the Writing on the Tablet.

1. ᚠ Ṣi - ni - ➢ᚼ Innanna
 Ṣini - Innanna.

2. û I - ri - ba - a^{m} - Sin
 and Iriba^{m} - Sin

3. tap - pu - ta - a^{m} i - pu - šu - u,
 brotherhood made,

4. a - na ta - az - ki - ti^{m}
 for ratification

5. da - a - ni ik - šu - du - u - ma
 a judge they took and

6. a - na bît ➢ᚼ Šamaš i - ru - bu - u - ma
 to the temple of Šamaš they went down and

7. i - na bît ➢ᚼ Šamaš ûmmā - na^{m}
 in the temple of Šamaš the people

8. i - pu - lu - u - ma :
 he answered thus :

9. ᚠ Arda - lu - uš - ta - mar - ➢ᚼ Šamaš,
 Arda - luštâmar - Šamaš (and)

10. ᚠ Antu - li - iš - li - ma - a^{m},
 Antu - lišlima^{m},

11. zînat I - ri - ba - a^{m} - Sin ;
 property of Iriba^{m} - Sin ;

12. ᚠ Ardu - ib - ši - na - an,
 Ardu - ibšinan (and)

13. ᚠ Antu - ➢ᚼ am - an - na - la - ma - zi,
 Antu - am - anna - lamazi,

14. zînat Ṣi - ni - ➢ᚼ Innanna
 property of Ṣini-Innanna

15. zi - i - zu - u.
 they have given.

16. I-na bît ➤┼ Šamaš û ➤┼ Sin
In the temple of Šamaš and Sin

17. iz-ku-ru: A-ḫu-u^{m} a-na a-ḫi-i^{m}
they proclaimed: Brother to brother

18. u-ub-bi-bu-u,
shall be pure,

19. a-ḫu-u^{m} a-ḫa-a^{m}
brother brother

20. lâ i-šar-ru, lâ i-gi-ir-ru-u;
shall not be angry with, shall not injure;

21. e-li mi-im-ma ša a-ḫu-u^{m}
about anything which a brother

22. a-na a-ḫi-i^{m} ir-gu-mu-u
to a brother has disputed

23. mi-im-ma u-ul i-šu-u.
anything he shall not have.

24. Mu ➤┼ Innanna-ki, ➤┼ Utu, ➤┼ Marduk,
the name of Innannaki, Šamaš, Merodach,

25. ➤┼ Lugal-ki-ušu-na,
Lugal-ki-ušuna, (and)

26. mu Ġa-am-mu-ra-bi lugal, in-pada-meš.
the name of Ḫammurabi the king, they have invoked.

27. Pân ➤┼ Utuki-še-mi; ┼ U-bar-Sin;
Before Utuki-šemî; Ubar-Sin;

28. Pân A-pil-Sin; ┼ Na-bi-Sin;
Before Apil-Sin; Nabî-Sin;

29. Pân Sin-êreš;
Before Sin-êreš;

30. Pân -Îpu-uš-Êa;
Before Îpuš-Êa;

31. Pân Sin-u-ze-li;
Before Sin-uzeli;

32. Pân Sin-gim-la-an-ni, ad-da.
Before Sin-gimlanni, the father (chief of the judges).

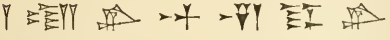
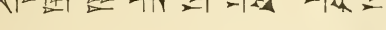
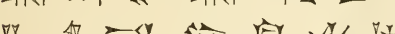
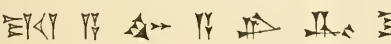
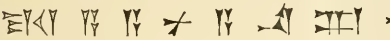
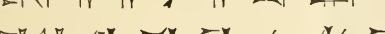
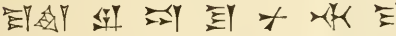
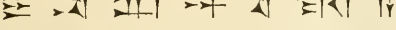
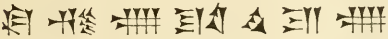
33. Iti Še-ḳi-kuda
Month Adar,

34. mu Ǵa-am-mu-ra-bi sarr-e
year (when) Ḥammurabi the king

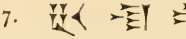
35. Innanna, Na-na-a
Innanna (and) Nanâ

mu-dim-un-ma*
made.

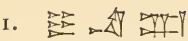
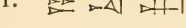
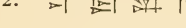
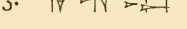
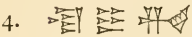
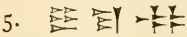
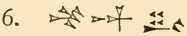
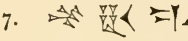
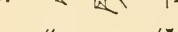
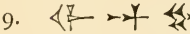
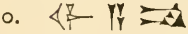
TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE CASE, RESTORED.

1. 
2. 
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11. 
12. 
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14. 
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16. 

* Mistake of the scribe for *mu-un-dim-ma.*

17.
18. 
19. 
20. 

REVERSE.

21. 
22. 
23. 
24. 
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40.
41. 

Restored Transcription and Translation of the Inscription on the Case.

1. [ᚠ Ṣi-ni-] ➤┼ Innanna, mâr [Ili-] sukkalu.
Ṣini-Innanna, son of Ili-sukkalu,

2. [û I-] ri-ba-a^{m}-Sin, mâr [U-bar-] Sin
and Iriba^{m}-Sin, son of Ubar-Sin

3. [ta-ap]-pu-ta-a^{m} i-[pu-šu-u],
brotherhood made,

4. [a-na] ta-az-ki-ti ib (?)-ḫu (?)-ru^{m}
for ratification they met,

5. [da-a]'-a-ni ik-šu-du-u-ma
a judge they took and

6. [da-a]-a-nu a-na bît ➤┼ Šamaš
the judge to the temple of Šamaš

7. id (?)-ru-du-šu-nu-ti-ma
took them down and

8. i-na bît ➤┼ Šamaš da-a-a-nu
in the temple of Šamaš the judge

9. di-na^{m} u-ša-ḫi-zu-u-šu-nu-ti-ma
judgment caused them to take and

10. ûmmâ-na^{m} i-pu-lu-u-ma:
the people answered thus:

11. A-ḫi-a-ti-šu-nu u-up-pi-lu-u-ma
Their brotherhood is confirmed and

12. ᚠ Ârda-lu-uš-ta-mar- ➤┼ Šamaš, ga-du
Ârda-luštâmar-Samas, from

ma (?)-aš-ka-ni^{m},
the establishment, (and)

13. ᚠ Antu-li-iš-li-ma-a,
Antu-lišlimā

14. zînat I-ri-ba-a^{m}-Sin;
the property of Iriba^{m}-Sin;

15. ᚠ Ârdu - ib - ši - i - na - an,
Ârdu - ibšînan, (and)

16. ᚠ Antu - ➤ᚠ am - an - na - la - ma - zi,
Antu - am - anna - lamazi,

17. zînat Ṣi - ni - ➤ᚠ Innanna
the property of Ṣini - Innanna,

18. zi [- i - zu - u]. A - ḫu - u^{m} a - ḫa - a
they give. Brother brother

19. [lâ] i - ša - ar - ma
shall not be angry with and

20. [lâ] i - gi - ir - ri.
shall not injure.

Reverse.

21. [I - na - bît] ➤ᚠ Sin û bît ➤ᚠ Šamaš
In the temple of Sin and the temple of Šamaš

22. [iz - ku - ru]: A - na a - ḫi - i^{m}
They proclaimed: To brother

23. [a - ḫu - u^{m}] u - ub - bi - ib,
brother shall be pure,

24. [lâ i - gi - ir] - ru, a - ḫu - u^{m} a - ḫa - a^{m}
shall not injure, brother brother

25. [i - ma] - ag - ga - ru - u.
shall treat kindly.

26. [Mu ➤ᚠ Innanna - ki, ➤ᚠ Utu, ➤ᚠ Marduk,
The name of Innannaki, Utu, Marduk,

➤ᚠ Lugal - ki - ušu - na.
Lugal - ki - ušuna,

27. [Mu Ǵa] - am - mu - ra - bi, lugal,
and the name of Ḫammurabi, the king,

28. [in] - pada - meš.
they have invoked.

29. [Pân] ➤ᚠ Utuki - še - mî, mâr A - pi - ia - tu^{m};
Before Utuki - šemî, son of Ápiatu^{m};

30. [Pân] A - pil - Sin, mâr ➤┼ Innanna - ki - ma - an - šum ;
Before Apil - Sin, son of Innannaki - manšum ;

31. [Pân] Sin - êreš, šakkanakku ;
Before Sin - êreš, the city-chief ;

32. [Pân] I - pu - uš - Ê - a, DU - GAB ;
Before Ipuš - Êa, the dugab ;

33. [Pân] ➤┼ Šamaš - mu - ba - ni - it - bêlti - ➤┼ Gu - la ;
Before Šamaš - mubanît - bêlti - Gula ;

34. Pân [Na] - bi - Sin, mâr I - din - Sin ;
Before Nabî - Sin, son of Idin - Sin ;

35. Pân Sin - u - zi - li, mâr Ṣi - ni ➤┼ Innanna ;
Before Sin - uzeli, son of Ṣini - Innanna ;

36. Pân U - bar - Sin, mâr Sin - še - mi ;
Before Ubar - Sin, son of Sin- šemî ;

37. Pân Sin - gim - la - an - ni, ad - da dâ'anē.
Before Sin-gimlanni, the chief of the judges.

38. Duba ⩥ inim - ma - bi - meš ip -ra.
The tablet of the contracting parties is done.

39. Iti Še - ḳi - kuda,
Month Adar

40. mu Ǵa - am - mu - ra - bi sarr - e
of the year Ḥammurabi the king

41. ➤┼ Innanna, ➤┼ Na - na - a mu - un - dim - ma.
Innanna, Nanâ made.

Free rendering of Inscription on the Inner Tablet.

"Ṣini-Innanna and Îribam-Sin made brotherhood, they took a judge to ratify it, and went down to the temple of the Sun-god, and the people answered thus in the temple of the Sun-god : 'They must give Ârda-lustâmar-Šamaš and Antu-lišlimam, the property of Iribam-Sin, and Ârdu-ibšinan, and Antu-am-anna-lamazi, the property of Ṣini-Innanna.' They proclaimed in the temple of the Sun-god and the Moon-god : 'Brother shall be kind to brother, brother shall not be angry with, shall not injure, brother ; and brother shall not harbour any angry thought as to anything about which a brother has disputed.'

"They have invoked the name of Innannaki, Utu, Marduk, Lugal-ki-ušuna, and the name of Ḫammurabi the king.

"Before Utuki-šemî; Ubar-Sin;

"Before Apil-Sin; Nabî-Sin;

"Before Sin-êreš;

"Before Îpuš-Êa;

"Before Sin-uzeli;

"Before Sin-gimlanni, the *adda*.

"Month Adar of the year when Ḥammurabi the king made (images of) Innanna and Nanâ."

Free rendering of the Inscription on the Case.

"Ṣini-Innanna, son of Ili-sukkalu, and Iriba^{m}-Sin, son of Ubar-Sin, made brotherhood, and met for ratification. They took a judge, and the judge took them down to the temple of the Sun-god, and the judge caused them to receive the decision in the temple of the Sun-god, and the people answered thus: 'Their brothership is confirmed, and they must give Ârda-luštâmar-Šamaš from the establishment, and Antu-lišlimā, the property of Iriba^{m}-Sin, and Ârdu-ibšînan and Antu-am-anna-lamazi, the property of Ṣini-Innanna. Brother shall not be angry with, shall not injure brother.' They proclaimed also in the temple of the Sun-god: 'Brother shall be kind to, shall not injure, brother; and brother shall be forgiving to brother.'

"They have invoked the name of Innannaki, Utu, Marduk, Lugal-ki-ušuna, and the name of Ḥammurabi the king.

"Before Utuki-šemî, son of Apiatu^{m};

"Before Apil-Sin, son of Innannaki-mansum;

"Before Sin-êreš, the city-chief;

"Before Êpuš-Êa, the DU-GAB;

"Before Šamaš-mubanît-bêlti-Gula;

"Before Nabî-Sin, son of Idin-Sin;

"Before Sin-uzeli, son of Ṣini-Innanna;

"Before Ubar-Sin, son of Sin-šemi;

"Before Sin-gimlanni, chief of the judges.

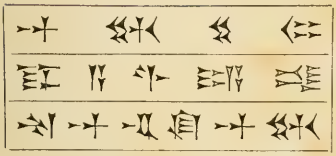
"The tablet of the contracting-parties is done.

"Month Adar, of the year Ḥammurabi the king, made (the images of) Innanna and Nanâ."

Seals.

Transcription and Translation.

1.



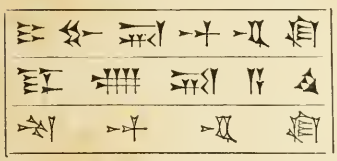
D.P. Utuki-še-mi,
mâr A-pi-ia[-tu^{m}],
ârad D.P. Êa, D.P. Utuki.

"*Utuki-šemi, son of Âpiatu^{m}, servant of Êa and Utuki.*" *

On the right hand side, facing the name, is represented a divine attendant in an attitude of adoration.

Transcription and Translation.

2.



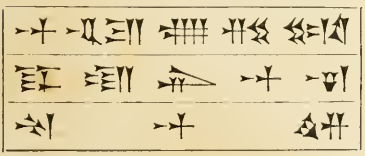
I-pu-uš D.P. Êa,
mâr U-ta-a-ḫi,
[arad D.P. Êa].

"*Ípuš-Èa, son of Útāḫi, [servant of the god Éa.*"] †

The last line of this, here given in outline, is not impressed on the tablet, and the restoration is therefore doubtful.

Seals of Witnesses from other Contracts of the same Series.

Transcription and Translation.



D.P. Sin-u-zi-li,
mâr Ṣi-ni Innanna,
ârad D.P. Rammānu.

"*Sin-uzêli, son of Ṣini-Innanna, servant of Rimmon.*" ‡

* Compare the name of the first witness (l. 27 of the tablet, l. 29 of the case)

† Compare the name of the sixth witness (l. 30 of the tablet, l. 32 of the case)

‡ Line 31 on the tablet, 35 on the case.

Transcription and Translation.



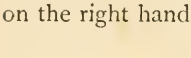
A-pil-Sin,
mâr Innannaki-manšum.

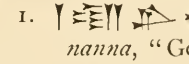
"*Apil-Sin, son of Innannaki-manšum.*" *

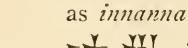
This seal, which is impressed on B 51, gives on the left hand (bottom) of the inscription the representation of a seated figure, and on the right hand (top) a standing figure in an attitude of adoration.

NOTES UPON THE WORDS.

LINE

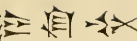
1.  *Ṣini-Innanna*, perhaps better, *Ṣêni-Innanna*, "Good is Innanna." The transcription of as *Innanna* is implied by the name of the group, which is given as *innanna* by the syllabary 82–8–16, 1. The original has , and this group I find to be equivalent to the late-Babylonian (Assyrian or ). The name may also be read *Ṣini-Nana*. The reading of , the name of the father of Ṣini-Innanna, is doubtful, and the transcription which I have given is, therefore, only provisional.

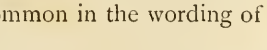
2.  *Iriba^{m}-Sin.* A name with the elements reversed, and *e* for *i* in the first syllable of the verb (*Sin-êriba^{m}*) which is also to be found in these contracts, implies that the root-form of the verb is *êrēbu*. The meaning is, "The Moon-god has made to increase." It is this word which occurs in the name Sennacherib (*Sin-âḫê-iriba*, "Sin has made the brothers increase"). The Hebrew form סַנְחֵרִיב, however, with י in the last syllable, indicating a long (and therefore possibly radical) vowel, points rather to a verb weak of the middle radical.

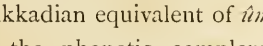
3.  *tappūta^{m}*, accusative of *tappūtu*, "brotherhood," with mimmation. *See* p. 26.

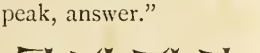
* Line 28 on the tablet, 30 on the case. The name Innannaki-manšum is Akkadian, and means "the Moon-god gave him." The Semitic Babylonian form would probably be Sin-iddina^{m}.

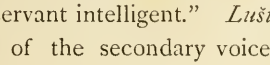
LINE

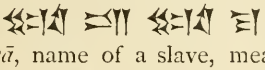
4. , *tazkîti*^{m}, dative of *tazkîtu*, here "ratification," from *zakû*, "to consecrate, ratify, give assent or effect to." Compare the Heb. זָכָה, "to be pure." This root is not uncommon in the wording of contracts.

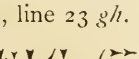
7 and 8. , *ummana*^{m} *îpulûma*, "they answered the people."  *ummea*, is the Akkadian equivalent of *ûmmanu*, here used ideographically, with the phonetic complement  *nam*, expressing the accusative with mimmation. *Îpulû* is probably from *âpâlu*, "to speak, answer."

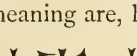
9.  *Ârda-luštâmar-Šamaš*, name of a slave; probably meaning, "May the Sun-god make the servant intelligent." *Luštâmar* is the precative or asking-form of the secondary voice of the Shuphul of *âmâru*, "to see."

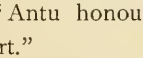
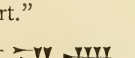
10.  (v.), *Antu-lišlima*^{m} or *lišlimâ*, name of a slave, meaning, "May Antu give peace." For  = *Antu*, compare W.A.I. v, pl. 60, col. II, line 21, with pl. 39, line 23 *gh*.

12.  *Ârdu-ibšînan*, or perhaps better *Ârda-ibšîna-îlu*, "There is a god for the slave." Both reading and meaning are, however, difficult.

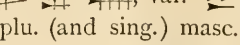
13. , *Antu-Am-anna-lamazi*, probably an Akkadian or Sumerian name, meaning something like "Antu honours (?) the lord of heaven," that is "her consort."

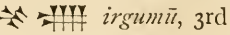
15 , *zîzû*, 3rd pers. plu. masc. perm. of *zâzu*, "to give."

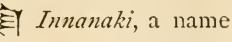
18. , *ûbbibû*, 3rd pers. plu. masc. Puul of *êbêbu*, "to be pure, bright."

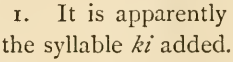
20.  var. , *išarru*, *išâr*, 3rd pers. sing. masc. pres. or fut. Kal. of *šâru*; apparently meaning "to be angry with," and connected with *šâru*, "wind."

LINE

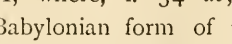
, var. , *igirrû*, *igirri*, 3rd pers. plu. (and sing.) masc. Kal of *garû*, "to be hostile towards;" whence *girû*, "foe," etc.

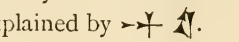
22.  *irgumū*, 3rd pers. sing. aor. Kal of *ragāmu*, "to dispute, litigate," etc.

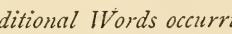
24.  *Innanaki*, a name of Sin, the Moon-god. The name of this group is given as *innannaki* by the syllabary 82–8–16, 1. It is apparently the same word as Innanna (p. 54), with the syllable *ki* added.

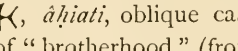
27. , *D.P. Utuki-šemî*, "O Sun-god hear." The reading of *Utuki* for will be found on pl. 48 of W.A.I. II, where, l. 34 *ab*, the character , the archaic Babylonian form of , has the gloss *U-tu-ki*, and is explained by .

Additional Words occurring on the Envelope.

11. , *âḫiati*, oblique case of *âḫiatu*, with the evident meaning of "brotherhood" (from *âḫû*, "brother,") a synonym of *tappūtu*.

, *ûppilū*, 3rd pers. plu. masc. Puul of *âpālu*, "to answer;" the Puul *ûppulu*, apparently meaning "to assert."

12. , *gadu maškani*^{m}. The literal meaning of these two words (if the reading be really correct) is "from the place."

25. , *imaggarū*, 3rd pers. sing. masc. pres. or fut. Kal of *magāru*, "to be obedient to."

40. The translation of this line must be regarded as only tentative.

The date of the interesting text given above is about 2120 B.C.

A fair idea of the style of writing of the original may be gained from the Rev. J. N. Strassmaier's copy, given on pp. 78 and 79 of his *Texte altbabylonischer Verträge*, published in the *Verhandll. d. Orient. Congr. zu Berlin*, 1881.

A selection of the most interesting of the texts belonging to the same period as the above, and referring to various subjects, will probably be given from time to time in the *Proceedings* of the Society.



1. WAHBALLÂT BAR BÂLHÂ



5 BUST OF A MAN.

In the British Museum.



2. TÎBÔL BAR LISHMESH TÎBÔL

In the British Museum



3 'ALLÂ BĔRATH YARḤAI.—A. Gr. 425.
In the British Museum.



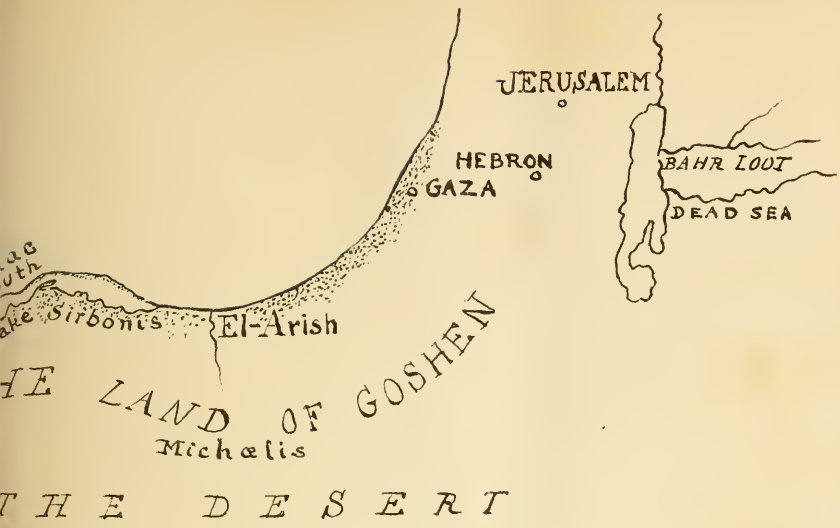
4. TÂ BĔRATH 'OGAILÛ.

In the British Museum.



Reliqui consentiunt situm Terra Gosen nonnisi in magno Delta, sive Ægypto inferiori quærendum esse si autem quæras, quasnam Ægypti inferioris partes GOSEN complexa sit, aliud huic, aliud illi placere deprehendes.—JABLONSKI, De Terra Gosen, p. 82, (ca. A.D. 1760.)

The Situation of The Land of Go according to Dr Michaelis. Dr Pay Mr R. Stuart Poole, Canon Rawlin Dr Wiedemann.



Immediately contiguous to Palestine, but also Southward as far as Heliopolis, including those places on the East side of the Nile, called Bucolia.—MICHÆLIS.

These conditions decisively indicate the Wádi-t-Tumeylát.—R. S. POOLE.

The Israelites occupied a portion of the Tanitic nome, lying between the Sebennytic and Pelusiac branches of the Nile.—CANON RAWLINSON.

This land was situated on the Eastern Bank of the Nile, and apparently commencing a little North of Memphis, extended to the Mediterranean and to the borders of the Philistines' land.—DEAN PAYNE SMITH, D.D.

From the Sebennytic mouth of the Nile to the Desert.—DR. WIEDEMANN





The Topography of The Blessing of Joseph

Revised Version

Joseph is a fruitful bough:
A fruitful bough by a fountain.
His branches run over the wall.
The archers have sorely grieved him:
And shot at him and persecuted him:
But his bow abode in strength:
And the arms of his hands were made strong
By the hands of the mighty One of Jacob.
From thence is the shepherd the stone of Israel.

Even by the God of thy father who shall help thee,
And by the Almighty who shall bless thee.
With blessings of Heaven above:
Blessings of the deep that coucheth beneath:
Blessings of the breasts and of the womb.
The blessings of thy father have prevailed
Above the blessings of my progenitors,
Unto the utmost bounds of the everlasting hills.
They shall be on the head of Joseph,
And on the crown of the head of him
That was separate from his brethren.

Cope Whitehouse
Oct. 1885

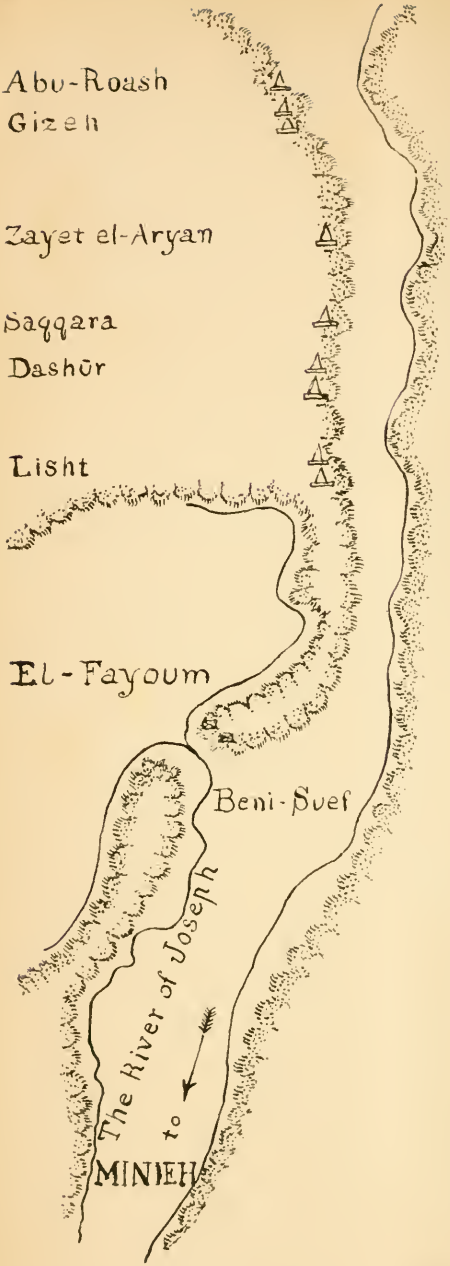


The Topography of
The Blessing of Joseph

בֵּן פֹּרָת יוֹסֵף
בֵּן פֹּרָת עֲלֵי עָיִן
בָּנוֹת צָעֲדָה עֲלֵי שׁוּר
וַיְמָרְרֻהוּ וַיָּרֹבּוּ
וַיִּשְׂטְמֻהוּ בַּעֲלֵי חִצִּים
וַתֵּשֶׁב בְּאֵיתָן קַשְׁתּוֹ
וַיָּפֹזּוּ זְרֹעֵי יָדָיו
מִידֵי אֲבִיר יַעֲקֹב
מִשָּׁם רֹעֶה אֶבֶן יִשְׂרָאֵל

מֵאֵל אָבִיךָ וְיַעְזְרֶךָּ וְאֵת שַׁדַּי וִיבָרְכֶךָּ
בִּרְכֹת שָׁמַיִם מֵעָל
בִּרְכֹת תְּהוֹם רֹבֶצֶת תָּחַת
בִּרְכֹת שָׁדַיִם וָרָחַם
בִּרְכֹת אָבִיךָ גָּבְרוּ עַל־בִּרְכֹת הוֹרַי
עַד תַּאֲוַת גִּבְעֹת עוֹלָם
תִּהְיֶיךָ לְרֹאשׁ יוֹסֵף וּלְקָדְקֹד נְזִיר אֶחָיו׃

Cope Whitehouse
Oct. 1885



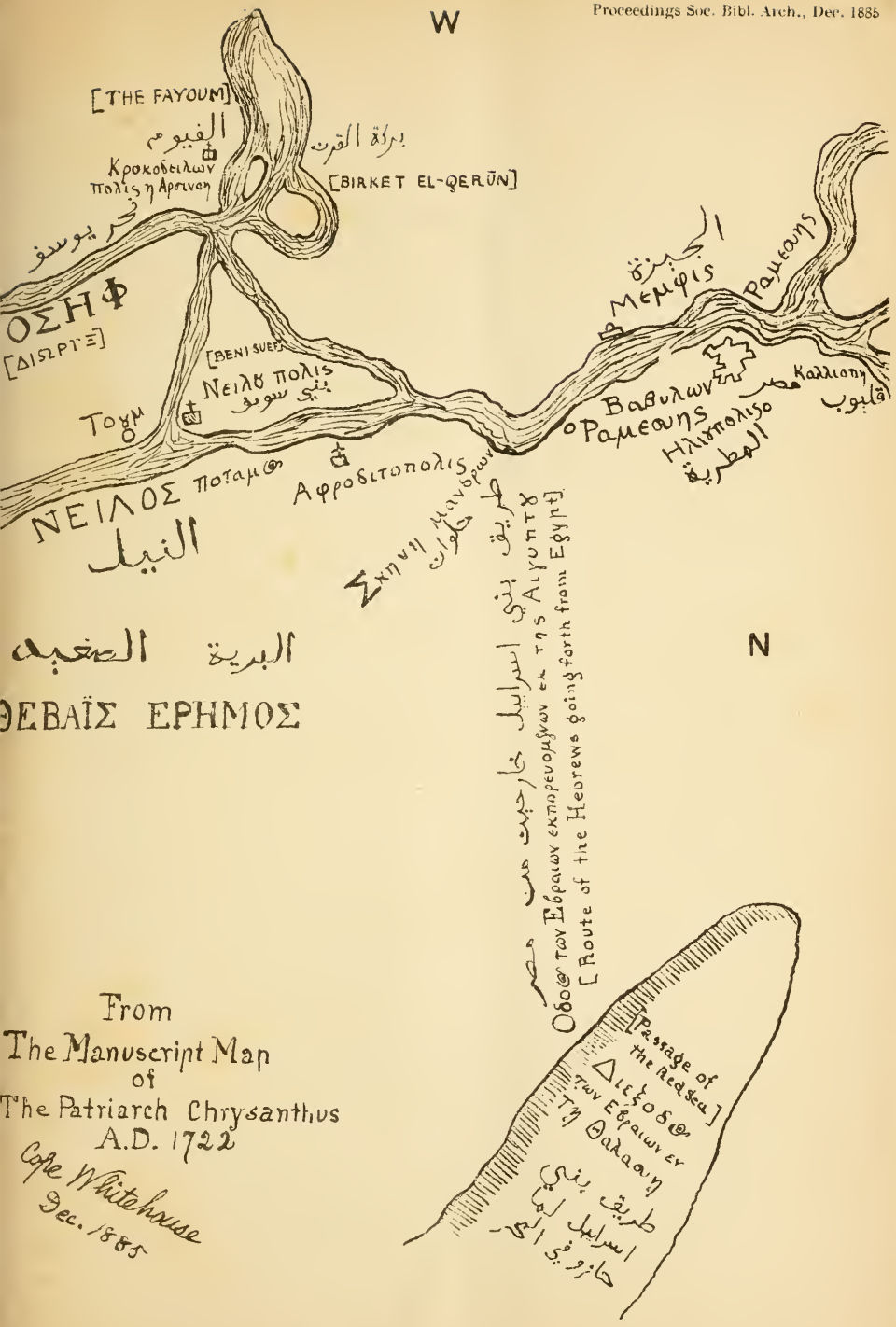
REUBEN	רְאוּבֵן
SIMEON and LEVI	שִׁמְעוֹן וְלֵוִי
JUDAH	יְהוּדָה
ZEBULON	זְבוּלֻן
ISSACHAR	יִשָּׂשכָר
DAN GAD ASHER	דָּן גָּד אָשֵׁר
NAPHTALI	נַפְתָּלִי
MANASSEH	מְנַשֶּׁה
EPHRAIM	אֶפְרַיִם
JOSEPH	יוֹסֵף
BENJAMIN	בִּנְיָמִין

And the children of Israel were fruitful and increased abundantly:
And multiplied and waxed exceeding mighty:
And the land was filled with them. Ex. 1 7.

Cope Whitehouse
Oct. 1885

The Situation of the Twelve Tribes at the Oppression

Harrison & Sons, Ltd., 59 Pall Mall, London, S.W.



From
The Manuscript Map
of
The Patriarch Chrysanthus
A.D. 1722

Cope Whitehouse
Dec. 1885

Harrison & Sons Lith.ers Martins Lane W.C.

The following Communication has been received from Mr. Cope Whitehouse:—

In order to explain more clearly this exegesis of the prophecy of Jacob printed in the November number of these *Proceedings*, I have drawn five maps.

First. The objection made by Jablonski of a fatal want of agreement as to the situation of the land of Goshen among those scholars who place it somewhere in the north-eastern Delta still holds good. Goshen, in Coptic Pithom, in Egyptian Pi-Tum (the West), in Greek Heroonpolis, where Jacob went before he was presented to Pharaoh, and where the Israelites found perennial pasturages, freed from the plagues of the Nile Valley and Delta, seems to be clearly identified with the Fayoum or Arsinoïte Nome, by the arguments marshalled in the "De Terra Gosen," the tradition given by St. Jerome, supplemented by those further explanations which my researches have enabled me to present. Heliopolis, Babylon, Tanis Magna, Mizraim, Zoan and Memphis, are alternative names derived from contiguous fortresses and faubourgs. As the modern European says Le Caire, or Cairo, while the Arab retains the Semitic Mizraim or Masr, so the Hebrew Chronicler in Numbers (xiii, 22), the Psalmist (lxxviii, 12, 43), the Prophet Isaiah (xxx, 4), and the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela, used Zoan, while the author of Judith wrote "Tanis and [or] Memphis," the LXX, Josephus and Antoninus M., Tanis, using the Greek equivalent. There is no trace of a centre of imperial power at San el-Hagar, the Tanis Parva of Josephus. It would be a serious blow at the authenticity and genuineness of the historical statement of Isaiah if we were compelled to admit that while the ambassadors were at Heracleopolis, fifty miles south of Memphis, Isaiah asserted that San el-Hagar was the seat of government of the great Egyptian empire. It is a mere oversight on the part of the eminent Egyptologists who did not observe this instance of double nomenclature. The Tanitic, like the Sebennytic and Mendesian dynasties, ruled Egypt from its fortress near Cairo; it also held a northern fortress on the Tanitic branch of the river.

Second. The opinion of the Eastern Church is expressed on my copy (natural size) of part of the bilingual map, drawn up in 1722 for Chrysanthus, Patriarch of Jerusalem (Brit. Mus. Cat. of MSS., III, p. 412; Herzog's Real Encyk. s.v. "Chrysanthus;"

Tobler, Bib. Geog., p. 124 (1867). The Exodus route is not the short way from Cairo to Suez, but implies a southward direction for the Israelites, starting from Raamses (on both sides of the river, *see* Antoninus M.) or Heliopolis (Josephus), thus avoiding the fortifications at the neck of the Delta, and then turning eastward into the desert, still known to the Mahommedan as the scene of the first experience of the wilderness, and called the desert of the wandering.

Third. The situation of the tribes in the heyday of their Egyptian prosperity is fixed with certainty for Reuben (Abu-Roash), Simeon and Levi (the Pyramids of Gizeh), Judah (*Ḥu*, the sphinx), Issachar (Saqqara), Joseph (Bahr Jūsuf), and Benjamin (the canal of Lycopolis). I have added the other names in topographical order on the third map.

Fourth. The local allusions in the magnificent simile which compares Joseph to that watercourse which filled Lake Mœris, evoked the Labyrinth, and still irrigates the provinces of Beni-Suef and the Fayoum, are worked out in detail.

Fifth. I have repeated on the fifth map the blessing of Joseph in Hebrew for the sake of the paronomasia, which is lost in the translation.

The following has been received from Dr. Oppert :—

Statement of the eponym tablets concerning an eclipse which happened, according to the cuneiform seals, ninety-one years after the death of Ahab king of Israel. This eclipse had been identified with that of 763, June 15, and the death of Ahab should have happened in 154 B.C. But that is quite impossible, as no calculation can cut out of the well-established system of the Judah and Israel king, half a century. All the dates concerning the reign of Uzia, as referring to Israel king, are so consistent with themselves, that there is no possibility of admitting a forgery or a falsification of figures, for which, moreover, no reason whatever can be pointed out. I suggested, in 1868, this eclipse to be that of 809 B.C., and fixed the death of the Israelite king at 900 B.C. By this I was able to explain the gap, admitted also by Hincks, in the eponyms lists, by a temporary discontinuance of the eponym, superseded by the Babylonian custom that ruled at Nineveh, and allowing only the reckoning by the reigning king.

The impossibility of reconciling the Biblical chronology with

the pretended Assyrian one led several scholars to inadmissible theories, as the identity of the Biblical Ahab and the Biblical Tiglathpileser, distinct by the express and precise words of the texts, as scriptural as profane. But there was another difficulty. One hundred and twenty-one years before this eclipse there must have been another, mentioned as contemporaneous with the accession of Assurrasirhabal. Or, no eclipse happened in 884 (763 + 121) B.C., but there was one just visible at Nineveh in 930, time Q.

The renowned astronomer of Vienna, Prof. Oppolzer, has ordered his subordinate pupils to calculate these points. A young astronomer of Vienna, Baron von Härdtl, has assumed the gigantic labour of calculating during almost four centuries, from the tenth to the sixth, all new moons, all vernal equinoxes, and all eclipses, solar and lunar, visible at Nineveh. According to these statements only one eclipse—and not interested in the question of 956—was almost total for Assyria, but either of the two which possibly could be the eclipse alluded to in the seals were partial for Assyria. My statement, taken from Pingre's tables, that there was no eclipse in 884, but one in 930, has also been confirmed, and this confirmation entails and involves the corroboration of the Biblical statements.

The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 12th January, 1886, at 8 p.m., when the Council and officers of the Society will be elected, and the usual business of the meeting transacted.

NOTE.—All subscriptions to the Society become due on January 1st; it is requested that they be sent to B. T. BOSANQUET, ESQ., *Hon. Treasurer*, 54, St. James's Street, S.W. Banker's orders may be obtained from the Secretary.

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Botta, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
Place, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866–1869. 3 vols., folio.
Brugsch-Bey, Grammaire Démotique. 1 vol., folio.
———— Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
———— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
Dümichen, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
———— 2nd series, 1869.
———— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1866.
———— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
Golenischeff, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
Lepsius, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
De Rougé, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
Wright, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.
Schroeder, Die Phönizische Sprache.
Haupt, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
Schrader, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
Rawlinson, Canon, 6th and 7th Ancient Monarchies.
Pierret, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. 8vo. Paris, 1875.
Burkhardt, Eastern Travels.
Wilkinson, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824–30. (*Text only.*)
Chabas, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, II, III. 1862–1873.
———— Voyage d'un Egyptien en Syrie, en Phénicie, &c. 4to. 1867.
———— Le Calendrier des Jours Fastes et Néfastes de l'année Égyptienne. 8vo. 1877.
Maspero, Du genre épistolaire chez les Égyptiens de l'époque Phraonique. 8vo. Paris, 1872.
———— De Carchemis oppidi Situ et Historia Antiquissimâ. 8vo. Paris, 1872.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

SIXTEENTH SESSION, 1885-86.

Third Meeting, 12*th January*, 1886.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

C. T. NEWTON, C.B., D.C.L., &c., &c., VICE-PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

THE Chairman referred with deep regret to the loss the Society had suffered by the death of its distinguished President, DR. BIRCH, whose wide acquirements, profound and varied scholarship, and unfailing industry, had done so much for its welfare. He hoped a worthy successor might be found, who, with the memory of Dr. Birch's noble example, would carry forward the work upon which the Society had entered under his guidance since its foundation. Canon Beechey, who reminded the meeting that the Society was almost entirely the creation of Dr. Birch, moved a vote of condolement to Mrs. Birch and the other members of the family, which was passed unanimously.

The following letters have been received from two of our Honorary Members, with others, and I have great pleasure in printing them here.

W. H. R.

MON CHER AMI,

Votre lettre me désole. Comment exprimer mes regrets pour une telle perte irréparable pour la science. Quant à moi personnellement je suis désespéré. Voila dix-huit ans que je connais et que j'aime cet excellent Mr. Birch, qui m'aimait beaucoup ; aussi veuillez je vous prie faire part à Madame Birch, à Mdlles. Birch, et à Mr. Birch fils (du British Museum), de mes condoléances les plus vives. Je consacrerai un article du nombre de la *Révue Égyptologique* (qui va paraître) à cette perte immense.

Tout à vous de cœur,

E. REVILLOUT.

31, RUE JEANNE D'ACRE, ROUEN,
le 31 *Décembre*, 1885.

MONSIEUR LE SECRETAIRE,

En apprenant par les journaux la mort de Mr. S Birch, je ne puis me défendre d'une émotion profonde. Mr. S. Birch était un savant apprisés de tous, et ceux qui avaient le bonheur de le fréquenter apprenaient bientôt à l'aimer.

Permettez-moi de vous dire que je ne saurais oublier avec quelle bienveillance il m'a accueilli au Musée Brittanique lorsque mes études m'y ont appelé. C'est à lui à qui je dois l'honneur de faire partie de la Société d'Archéologie biblique depuis sa fondation, et je lui en serai toujours reconnaissant.

Je vous prie, Monsieur le Sécretaire, de vouloir bien être mon interprète auprès des membres de la Société pour leur transmettre l'expression de ma douloureuse sympathie.

Agreéz, Monsieur le Secretaire, l'assurance de ma haute considération.

MENANT,

Conseiller à la Cour d'Appel ; Membre honoraire de la Société d'Archéologique biblique.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Royal Society:—The Proceedings. Vol. XXXIX. No. 239. 8vo. London. 1885.

From the Royal Geographical Society: — The Proceedings. November, 1885, Vol. VII, No. 11; December, 1885, Vol. VII, No. 12; and January, 1886, Vol. VIII, No. 1. 8vo.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—Journal of Proceedings. Vol. II, New Series, No. 4; and Vol. II, New Series, No. 5.

From the Editor:—The American Journal of Philology. Edited by Professor B. L. Gildersleeve. Vol. VI, No. 3. 8vo. Baltimore. 1885.

From the Editor:—The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Edited by the Rev. Stephen D. Peet. Vol. VII, No. 6. 8vo. 1885.

From J. Holmes, Esq.:—*Fac-similes* of certain Portions of the Gospel of St. Matthew and of the Epistles of St. James and Jude, written on papyrus in the first century, and preserved in the Egyptian Museum of Joseph Mayer, Esq., of Liverpool, with a portrait of St. Matthew from a fresco painting at Mount Athos. Edited and illustrated by Constantine Simonides, Ph.D. Folio. London. 1862.

From Dr. Wiedemann:—De Asiae Minoris Satrapis Persicis..... Scripsit Alfredo De Gutschmid. 8vo. Lipsiæ. 1883.

From the Author:—Wâteh-Ben-Hazael, Prince of the Kedarenes about 650 B.C. By Paul Haupt, Ph.D. Chicago.

Reprinted from "Hebraica." Vol. I, No. 4. 1885.

From the Author:—Cheltenham Fine Art Lectures. No. 1. Egyptian Art, &c., its Influence. By Sydney Herbert. 4to.

From the Author:—Illustrazione di due monumenti Egeziani memoria. By Professor Francesco Ladelci.

From the Author:—Hebrew Language for Philology and History, and Sargon King of Assyria. By M. Nicholsky.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the Meeting on December 1st, 1885 :—

Rev. George Hilley Gilbert, Dorset, Belmont, U.S.A.
Sidney Herbert, Carlton Street, Cheltehnam.
William Greenwood Hird, 25, Cordingley Street, Bradford.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting, February 2nd, 1886:—

Rev. R. Waddy Moss, 17, Ashgrove, Bradford, Yorks.
Captain F. W. H. Petrie, F.G.S., Secretary, Victoria Institute, 7, Adelphi Terrace, W.C.
John Evans, LL.D., F.R.S., &c., President of the Society of Antiquaries, Nash Mills, Hemel Hemptead.

To be added to the List of Subscribers :—

The Rector of St. Benno's College, St. Asaph.

SECRETARY'S REPORT
FOR THE YEAR 1885.

THE number of Members on the Roll was announced in the Report for the year 1884, read at the Anniversary Meeting held on the 13th January, 1885, as being 683. The flow of candidates for election continues in a satisfactory manner, replacing in numbers the regretted losses by death and other causes. Each year finds the list steadily on the increase, possibly not so largely as could be wished, and as might be attained were all the Members to put forth their best efforts to secure to the Society the benefit of the support and assistance of those friends interested in Biblical Archæology.

The following figures show the present condition of the Roll of Members, &c. :—

Ordinary Members	619
Public Libraries	49
	668
Foreign Honorary Members	35
Total	703

The session just passed has been shorter than usual, the April Meeting having been omitted, owing to the regular day in that month having fallen at a time proscribed by the Rules. Seven meetings only have been available for the reading of papers, but the number of them has scarcely been less than in former years.

To commence with that of the meeting held on January 13th, Mr. Theo. G. Pinches gave a continuation of his paper printed in Vol. VI of the *Proceedings* (p. 204), on the Early Babylonian King Lists, in which he discussed the Kings of the Mythical Period; a Mythical Sargon before Sargon of Agadé; the original form of the name of Sargon; Tâbi-ûtli-Bêl of Niffer; the "Twofold" King, and the connection of the Mythical Sargon with the historical Sargon. This subject will be continued by him at a future time. To the same writer we were indebted for an interesting paper exhibiting a series of specimens of familiar correspondence of the Babylonians and Assyrians. A paper On an Early Babylonian Deed of Brotherhood, printed in full in the *Proceedings*. Other communications bearing on the history of Assyria and Babylonia have been printed in the *Proceedings*; for example, that

by Professor Sayce, on an Inscription of Assurbanipal at Tartûs, and that by Mr. Pinches, on a Tablet recording some work done upon the state barge of King Darius.

Professor William Wright, LL.D., kindly communicated descriptions, with translations of the inscriptions, of several busts from Palmyra, recently acquired by the British Museum.

Many, various, and interesting have been the papers read upon matters bearing upon Egypt. To our much regretted President, ever willing to give the Society the benefit of his vast stores of knowledge, the Society was indebted for an account of the papyri so kindly sent to me from Edinburgh by the Secretary of the Science and Art Department for examination. Although read on November 4th, 1884, it was not printed until February 3rd, 1885 (*Proceedings*, p. 79, &c.). Again, for some remarks on an hieroglyphic inscription near the Cataract of Tangur, of which an imperfect copy had been sent to England. This was to have been the subject for further remarks during the present session, a squeeze or cast of the inscription having been obtained. In a communication printed in the June *Proceedings*, commenced what was to have been a series of articles upon certain Roman papyri in the British Museum. Through his kindness I was enabled to make *fac-similes* of a number of these interesting documents, five plates of which appeared at that time. It may be mentioned that there are some other of my drawings of the same series on the stone, which were only waiting the time when our regretted President had leisure to place in form his notes, and thus lay before the Society a series of specimens of these Egyptian Rituals, dating from about the first century A.D. His last communication was a note upon the Hypocephalus in the possession of Walter Myers, F.S.A., which he kindly allowed me to copy and to have published. It adds one more to the series already published in the *Proceedings;* and I may again here repeat my request to those having other examples in their possession, to follow the good example of Sir Henry Meux, Bart., and Mr. Walter Myers, and kindly allow me the use of them for a few days, in order that the *publications* of the Society may contain as complete a series as possible.

The next in order is the paper by Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A., in which he carefully and minutely described a large number of the antiquities from Bubastis, in his own collection of Egyptian Antiquities. This interesting series of notes will appear in the next part of the *Transactions*, with several plates illustrating the most important of the specimens.

At the March meeting was read a valuable paper by M. Naville, forming a supplement to his former communication printed in the *Transactions* (Vol. IV, pp. 1–19), Inscription of the Destruction of Mankind in the Tomb of Ramses III.

Mr. Cust in his paper entitled Excavations in Progress or Lately Completed in Egypt, gave a popular and interesting account of the results of his tour taken during the previous winter. At the same meeting was read a paper by M. Eugène Révillout, on Some Demotic Documents in the British Museum. This paper was a description (illustrated by photographic plates) of several *ostraca*, and is particularly valuable, this class of documents having been very little studied, owing to the great difficulty of interpretation.

The first paper read at the meeting in June was that by the Rev. Henry G. Tomkins, on the Topography of Northern Syria, with special reference to the Karnak Lists of Thothmes III. It will be printed in a future part of the *Transactions*, illustrated with a series of plates giving the names of the whole of the towns as they are represented upon the Egyptian monuments.

To Mr. Renouf the Society was indebted for the second paper of that evening, on the Eclipse in Egyptian Texts, in which the author examined the question whether these ancient writings are silent as to solar and lunar eclipses. Other communications by the same author have been printed in the *Proceedings*, for example : The Egyptian Silurus Fish and its Functions in Hieroglyphics ; The True Phonetic Value of the Sign , ideographic of Strife and War, and its Homophones. Also in the field of Egyptology the Society has been indebted to other writers Dr. Wiedemann has sent several interesting communications, upon Two Temples built by the Kings of the XXIXth Dynasty, at Karnak ; Two Dated Monuments in the Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum at the Haag ; and, the Description of a Monument of the Time of King Chu-en-aten, found upon an Uschebti Statuette preserved in the Museum at Zürich. —Queen Pekersala, of the beginning of the Saitic Period. Professor J. Lieblein discusses the name of the Great Cackler, and also the Title of the Book of the Dead, upon both of which some remarks by Mr. Renouf were printed in the *Proceedings*. Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A., describes (illustrated by a plate) some Egyptian *stelæ* in the collection of Queen's College, Oxford ; from M. Eugène Lefébure an Examination of the Egyptian Name of the Ichneumon. Following the valuable communications of our late President, published from time to time, Prof. Sayce describes two Greek Ostraka from Karnak in the possession of the Rev. Greville Chester ; and again, More Greek Ostraka from Karnak. By the same author we have a Discussion on the Site of This, including the copies of some inscriptions, the result of his visits to Egypt ; an Hieroglyphic Inscription at How, containing the name of a new king.

To the same author the Society was indebted for a paper read at the February Meeting, on the Karian Language and Inscriptions, in which Professor Sayce collected all the known inscriptions in this language This paper will be printed in full, with plates of the alphabet and inscriptions.

The Rev. A. Löwy read a paper translated by himself, the Weasel and the Cat in Ancient Times, by the Rev. Dr. Placzek, throwing considerable light on this interesting subject.

Mr. F. Cope Whitehouse, in a communication entitled Mar-Mœris, West of the Oxyrhyncus-Behnesa, and to a paper on the Bahr-el-Yusuf, read at the January Meeting, detailed the results of his examination of those parts of the country during several visits to Egypt.

Mr. Joseph Jacobs, in a lengthy and interesting paper, had collected a large number of facts bearing on the question, Are there Totem-Clans in the Old Testament?

One more paper must be specially mentioned, as it gives to the Society the opportunity of enlarging the material available for the study of ancient documents more or less connected with Egypt: Notes on the Martyrdom of the Coptic Martyr Isaac of Tiphre, by E. A. Wallis Budge. This writer has carefully copied the whole of the text, which will be printed, with a translation, in the next part of the *Transactions*.

As already mentioned among the donations recorded in the monthly publication, I must not omit to mention that through the kindness of Mr. F. D. Mocatta, who presented them, the Society now possesses new casts of the celebrated "Hamath Stones," and also of the inscribed lion preserved with them in the Museum at Constantinople. At a future time I hope to be able to place the Members in possession of some account of the lion, with copies of the inscriptions with which it is almost covered. Several communications bearing on the same class of antiquities called "Hittite" have appeared from time to time in the *Proceedings*. Mr. Theo. G. Pinches discussed the Name of the City and Country over which Tarkû-timme ruled. Professor Sayce again refers to the Inscription of Tarkondêmos, and in the same number I was able to submit to the Society a drawing of a curious bowl found at Babylon with inscribed "Hittite" characters.

Since the last Annual Report, the completing part of Vol. VIII of the *Transactions* has been issued to the Members. It contains such papers as were ready to be printed, some of them having been read during the past year. Notes on Egyptian Stelæ principally of the XVIIIth Dynasty, by Mr. E. A. W. Budge, M.A.; Babylonian Art, illustrated by Mr. H. Rassam's latest discoveries, by Mr. Theo. G. Pinches; Biblical Nationalities, Past and Present, by Mr. H. Rassam; on the Shade or Shadow of the Dead, in the belief of the Egyptians, by Samuel Birch, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., &c., &c., illustrated with five plates; Handicrafts and Artizans mentioned in Talmudical Writings, by Dr. S. Louis; L'Inscription de la Destruction des Hommes dans le Tombeau de Ramsès III, by M. Edouard Naville, with three plates; Note on a Funeral Tablet in the British Musuem, by S. Birch, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., with a plate; and a photograph of the Terra-cotta seals

called "Hittite," so kindly placed at the disposal of the Society by M. Schlumberger.

The first part of Volume IX of the *Transactions* is in the press, and will contain several of the papers read before the Society during the past year.

In the present instance the shorter communications to the *Proceedings* have been mentioned in their proper places according to subjects, and it is not necessary again to detail them. It is however very gratifying to consider that much contained in this portion of the publications of the Society is the result of the kindness of many friends, who have thus placed at the disposal of the Members the result of their researches. By such means the Council is enabled to issue a series of Numbers, which, when bound, equal in bulk half a volume of the *Transactions*.

Each month it has been a pleasure to record the donations to the Library from authors as well as learned Societies, and many of them of considerable value. Much however still requires to be done to make available for the use of the Members a complete, or as nearly complete series as possible, of books bearing on the subjects embraced by the Society. To many authors we have been indebted for each and every of their writings as published; and it is much to be wished that so excellent an example would be followed by others.

The Council from time to time purchase, as funds allow, books which seem necessary, but the amount at their disposal for this purpose is quite inadequate to enable them to obtain the many published books and tracts of interest to the Members.

The audited Balance Sheet annexed shows that the funds available for the year 1885 have been £627 6*s.* 3*d.*, and the expenditure in the like period £502 14*s.* 6*d.*, the balance brought forward from 1884 having been £59 17*s.* 3*d.* The balance carried forward to the current year is £124 11*s.* 9*d.*

The Report having been read by the Secretary, and the Statement of Receipts and Expenditure read and explained by Mr. Arthur Cates, were received and adopted.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31ST, 1885.

1886.	Dr.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1.	To Balance in hand		59 17 3
	,, Subscriptions for 1885 ...	411 12 5	
	,, Arrears from former years	23 4 3	
	,, In advance...	10 11 0	
			445 7 8
	,, Life Composition		15 15 0
	,, Sales of Transactions		102 12 2
	,, Dividends, 1 year, on £123 14s. 3d. New Three per Cents.		3 14 2
			£627 6 3
	,, Balance brought forward		£124 11 9

Audited and found correct, January 9th, 1886.

GEORGE MACLARAN.
E. A. W. BUDGE.

Cr.	£ s. d.
By Rent to date	116 0 0
,, Printing Transactions, Vol. VIII, Part 3, Proceedings, Vol. VII, and Sundries ...	163 3 0
,, Engraving, Drawing, &c.	88 7 8
,, Books and Bookbinding	41 10 3
,, Stationery	0 5 8
,, Secretary, on account of £230	50 0 0
,, Official Auditor	2 2 0
,, Postage	15 14 2
,, Housekeeper and Sundries	21 14 3
,, Furniture	0 10 0
,, Fire Insurance	3 7 6
,, Balance carried forward to 1886	124 11 9
	£627 6 3

ASSETS.

Subscriptions still outstanding for 1885, estimated at £100.
Library Furniture and Effects at 11, Hart Street.
The Transactions in stock.
Reserve Fund in New Three per Cent. Annuities, £123 14s. 3d.

LIABILITIES.

Printing, Rent, and Current Expenses, accruing for 1886.
Printing Vol. IX, Part 1, in progress.
Balance due to Secretary.

11, HART STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C., *January 12th*, 1886.

W. HARRY RYLANDS, *Secretary*.

The following Officers and Council for the current year were elected:—

COUNCIL, 1886.

President.

RT. HON. SIR A. H. LAYARD, K.C.B.

Vice-Presidents.

REV. FREDERICK CHARLES COOK, M.A., Canon of Exeter.
LORD HALSBURY, The Lord High Chancellor.
THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., D.C.L., &c.
THE RIGHT REV. J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., &c., BISHOP OF DURHAM.
WALTER MORRISON.
CHARLES T. NEWTON, C.B., D.C.L.
SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, BART., D.C.L., M.D.
J. MANSHIP NORMAN, M.A.
REV. GEORGE RAWLINSON, D.D., Canon of Canterbury.
SIR HENRY C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S., &c.
VERY REV. ROBERT PAYNE SMITH, Dean of Canterbury.

Council.

REV. CANON BEECHEY.
E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A.
ARTHUR CATES.
THOMAS CHRISTY, F.L.S.
CHARLES HARRISON, F.S.A.
REV. ALBERT LÖWY.
F. D. MOCATTA.
CLAUDE MONTEFIORE.
ALEXANDER PECKOVER, F.S.A.
THEO. G. PINCHES.
J. POLLARD.
F. G. HILTON PRICE, F.S.A.
P. LE PAGE RENOUF.
GENERAL SIR CHAS. WARREN, G.C.M.G., R.E., F.R.S.
GENERAL SIR CHAS. W. WILSON, K.C.M.G., R.E., F.R.S.
REV. W. WRIGHT, D.D.

Honorary Treasurer.

BERNARD T. BOSANQUET.

Secretary.

W. HARRY RYLANDS, F.S.A.

Hon. Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE, M.A.

Honorary Librarian.

WILLIAM SIMPSON, F.R.G.S

The following Communication has been received :—

PHILADELPHIA, *March 27th*, 1885.

MY DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

Plates LV—LIX of the fifth Vol. W.A.I. contain "an inscription from a Boundary Stone of Nebuchadnezzar I." This was translated and commented upon by Messrs. Pinches and Budge in a paper read before the Society, March 4th, 1884, and published in the *Proceedings*. They assign it to a date about 1150 B.C. Dr. Hilprecht, in a dissertation on the same inscription, assigned to it the same date. Prof. Haupt (*Andover Rev.*, July, 1884) referred it to the year 1300 B.C. None of these authorities have given any ground for the dates assigned, nor any reason why it should not rather be ascribed to the great Nebuchadnezzar. The only arguments I can imagine as being offered in favour of a 12th or 13th century date for this inscription are the archaic character of the script, and the general historical inconsistency between the events recorded in the inscription and what we know of the life and times of Nebuchadnezzar son of Nabopolassar.

The first argument for an early date is invalidated by the existence of other inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar son of Nabopolassar, in a script fully as archaic as that of the Boundary Stone. The characters of the Boundary Stone inscription, as given by Dr. Hilprecht, in which form they look the most archaic, I am able to duplicate almost character for character from a barrel cylinder of Nebuchadnezzr son of Nabopolassar now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

As to the second point ; while I can find allusions elsewhere to the war mentioned in the Boundary Stone inscription, provided it be assigned to the time of Nebuchadnezzar son of Nabopolassar, I find a serious and very glaring anachronism in the inscription if assigned to the 12th or 13th century B.C. Jeremiah xxv, 25, xlix, 34 *ff.*, Ezek. xxxii, 34, are historical evidences of an invasion of Elam by Nebuchadnezzar the son of Nabopolassar such as that described in the Boundary Stone inscription. If *Zimri* and *Namar* can be shown to be identical, Jer. xxv, 25 acquires a double force in connection with the inscription, where, not only is Namar involved with Elam in the like calamity, but also (Col. II, 24) Nebuchadnezzar is called "prince of the land of Namar."

It is a curious fact that in the Boundary Stone inscription the name Babylon plays an unimportant part, and that Nebuchadnezzar himself is nowhere called king of Babylon. This peculiarity can be almost paralleled from the barrel cylinder to which reference has been made above. On the other hand it must be admitted that we do not find in the Boundary Stone inscription certain finger marks of Nebuchadnezzar II (or III?) inscriptions such as "restorer of Esaggil and Ezida." On the supposition of the authorship of Nebuchadnezzar son of Nabopolassar the absence of such peculiarities may merely be due to the fact that this inscription is historical and not architectural.

The supposition of a 12th or 13th century date for the Boundary Stone involves one glaring anachronism. Col. I, 10, Nebuchadnezzar calls himself *kašid mat Aḫarrî*, "subduer of the West-land." This is a correct title for Nebuchadnezzar son of Nabopolassar, and according to the references above given his subjugation of Elam followed that of the "West-land." Further than this I am able to adduce nothing of a historical nature for or against the early date of the inscription, because we know nothing about the deeds of Nebuchadnezzar I which would enable us to institute a comparison. One such anachronism, however, should be enough to discredit the theory of the early date, there being no positive argument in its favour.

As to this Nebuchadnezzar I himself, on what ground is he placed about 1150 B.C.? and on what ground is a war with Elam ascribed to him? In W.A.I., II, 65 a Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon appears to be mentioned as a contemporary of Aššurešiši father of Tiglathpileser I of Assyria. In the list of Babylonian kings no such name is found. The 12th century is a gap up to the year 1175, thenceforward it is completely filled up. From 1154 to 1146 reigns an undeciphered king, but his name does not look like Nebuchadnezzar. A date earlier than 1175 seems too early for a contemporary of the father of Tiglathpileser I. On what ground Prof. Haupt has placed Nebuchadnezzar I at 1300 B.C. I have no idea. In point of fact we know nothing more than his name at present. The Boundary Stone inscription has been assigned to that name, because it was supposed on general grounds that it could not be an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar son of Nabopolassar. Col. I, 10, however, shows that it can not have been written at the early date proposed. This reference, as well as the general contents, corres-

pond to what we know from other sources of the events of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar the son of Nabopolassar. I suppose the inscription therefore to be an historical inscription of the great Nebuchadnezzar.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN P. PETERS.

P.S.—Let me call attention to the fact that Is. xxi, 2 and 9 agree curiously well with the recent discovery that Cyrus was king of Elam. Compare also the part which Elam plays in Is. xxii, 6.

I wish to ask, if any one is prepared to answer me, whether the devices on seals are analogous to modern coats of arms? The devices of the seals on some of the later contract tablets are curiously antique. Had they been handed down by inheritance in the family, like a coat of arms?

The following Communication has been received from Professor J. Lieblein :—

CHRISTIANIA,

HOCHGEEHRTER HERR SECRETAIR,— 14 *October*, 1885.

In the *Proceedings*, No. 7, f. 1885, p. 179, macht Herr W. H. Summers auf 2 König. vii, 6 aufmerksam, wo *Könige* von Aegypten genannt sind. Diese Stelle ist ganz richtig für die aegyptische Chronologie von Bedeutung.

Die Zeit, von der die citirte Bibelstelle spricht, ist cr. 850 v. Ch. Der gewöhnlichen Auffassung nach, regierte damals die 22 Dynastie in Aegypten und zwar nur ein König, nämlich Sesouchis III nach Lepsius, oder Sesouchis II nach Brugsch (*Geschichte Aegyptens*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 669). Es wird somit unerklärlich, wie die Bibel von ägptischen Königen im Pluralis sprechen kann.

Mit meiner chronologischen Anordnung steht dagegen die Angabe in vollständiger Uebereinstimmung. Zu einer Abhandlung in *Revue archéologique*, N.S. XVIII (Jahr 1868), p. 272, ff.: *Études sur la place chronologique de la* XXII *dynastie*, sowie in meinem Buche: *Recherches sur la chronologie égyptienne:* Christiania, 1873, p. 138 ff., habe ich zu beweisen versucht, dass die 22 Dynastie gleichzeitig mit der 21sten und 23sten Dynastie regierten; namentlich regierten um das Jahre 850 v. Ch. Psusennes (von der

21 Dynastie) gleichzeitig mit Sesouchis II (von der 22 Dynastie); da nun die Könige der 21 und 22 Dynastie oftmals mit einander verschwägert waren, ist es ganz in Ordnung, dass die Bibelstelle 2 König. vii, 6, von ägyptischen *Königen* spricht, wie sie thut.

In derselben Nummer (*Proceedings*) hat Herr Le Page Renouf eine Kritik über meinen ebendaselbst aufgenommenen Artikel geliefert. Obwohl es für den Sachverständigen überflüssig scheinen muss, bitte ich doch um die Erlaubniss nur ein Paar Bemerkungen machen zu können.

1. Es geht von meiner Auffassung des Titels *per m ḥru* hervor, dass ich die Præposition *m* nur in der localen, nicht in der temporalen Bedeutung nehmen konnte; ich hatte also nichts mit dem temporalem *m* zu thun, wenn ich nicht Vervirrung in meine Darstellung bringen wollte.

2. Herr Le Page Renouf räumt zuerst ein, dass *per m ḥru*, "come forth from" bedeutet und fügt sogar zu: "It was certainly quite unnecessary to pile up a heap of quotations on behalf of such elementary truths." Nachher aber bestreitet er doch diese Auffassung. Meine quotations waren also nicht überflüssig: ich muss abermals auf sie verweisen.

3. Zu meiner erklärenden Paraphrase: "coming forth from the light of day here on earth," bezieht sich "here on earth," bediglich auf die Worte: "light of day." Will Herr Le Page Renouf Bezug auf *per m* nehmen, kann er gern in die Paraphrase, "there on earth" einsetzen. Meine Auffassung des Titels wird dadurch in keine Weise beeinflusst oder verändert.

4. Ich habe angeführt, dass *per m ḥru* mit *per m rā* wechselt; *ḥru*, "day," ist also = *rā*, "the sun;" davon folgt, so viel ich sehe, dass *ḥru*, "sunshine, light, or light of day" bedeutet, in dieser Verbindung wenigstens.

5. Meine Auffassung der ägyptischen Religion ist principiel von der des Herrn Le Page Renouf verschieden; in so fern ist eine Discussion vergebens. Ich habe die Schriftmonumente chronologisch zu sichten versucht um die geschichtliche Entwickelung der Religion verfolgen zu können. (Siehe mein "Gammelægyptish Religion," Theil I–III: Christiania, 1883–1885.) Ein solcher Versuch ist, glaube ich, nützlich, ja nothwendig; man kann ihn durch genauere chronologische Bestimmungen berichtigen und verbessern, aber nicht durch allgemein gehaltende Vermuthungen und Behauptungen vernichten.

The following Communication has been received :—

138, FELLOWS ROAD, N.W.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS, *5th December*, 1885.

At the last meeting of the Society the name of Baal-zebub was adduced, apparently on the authority of Professor Robertson Smith, as a proof of animal worship.

The common explanation is, that the god was called "Lord of Flies," as being the averter of flies; and that view is supported in a general way by such attributives as ἀποτρόπαιος, ἀλεξίκακος, averruncus, &c.; more particularly by words which specify the plague, as Ἀπόλλων Σμινθεύς, Ἐρυσίβιος, *deliverer from field mice and mildew*; and more closely still by Ζεὺς Ἀπόμυιος, occurring in Pausanias and Clement of Alexandria; for which Pliny in one place puts Myagrus, in another Myiodes. Pausanias also mentions a hero at Alphera named Myagrus.

The currency of the epithet is explained by the belief which it embodied. It was supposed that upon the proclamation of the Olympic Games the flies moved off across the Alpheus, and that the breaking up of the assembly was the signal for their return. Ælian is ungallant enough to couple the ladies of Elis with the flies, as being both debarred from the festival; and gives the palm to the latter, because their absence was voluntary, and because they resisted the temptation of the rich treat of raw flesh which the sacrifices presented.

It is needless to remark that Heracles is a common Greek representative of the Semitic Baal. Now Clement mentions a Ἡρακλῆς Ἀπόμυιος worshipped by sacrifice at Rome; and the Olympic legend ran, that Heracles, sacrificing at Olympia, was incommoded by the flies, and prayed successfully for relief to Ζεὺς Ἀπόμυιος. Hence Ἀπόμυιος is connected, in one case directly, in the other indirectly, with Heracles, and through him with Baal.

There is another passage, not, I believe, previously quoted, which seems still more decisive: Strabo (xiii, 64) speaks of the Oetæans as worshipping a Ἡρακλῆς Κορνοπίων, supposed to have delivered them from the locust, which is called in their dialect κόρνοψ instead of πάρνοψ, and of the Erythræans of Ionia as worshipping a Ἡρακλῆς Ἱποκτόνος, the exterminator of the ἶψ, an insect which destroyed their vines.

It may be said that these facts illustrate the name Baal-zebub, but supply no reason why the god should not have been represented and worshipped under the form of the creature which he was supposed to control. By an extraordinary chance there is evidence on this particular point. Pausanius (vii, 5), a most competent judge, calls attention to the high antiquity of the temple of Heracles at Erythræ. He criticises the statue, and pronounces it not to be of Æginetan or old Attic work, but to be distinctly Ægyptian in character—a description which applies exactly to existing remains of early Phœnician art. The statue was based on a kind of raft, which, according to tradition, had drifted with the god from *Tyre* to the coast of Erythræ. In another place (ix, 27) Pausanius marks the same connection by saying that he had observed temples of an identical Herakles at Erythræ and at Tyre. It is noticeable also that the harbour of Erythræ is named Portus Punicus.

The evidence therefore seems strong that Baal-zebub is no exception to the rule laid down by MM. Perrot and Chipiez in their recently published volume that the Phœnicians represented their deities in human shape.

I remain, very faithfully yours,

J. MARSHALL.

The following Communication has been received from Prof. Aug. Eisenlohr:—

ON THE HOW INSCRIPTIONS.

In the *Proceedings* of June, 1885, I find a communication from Professor Sayce, on "A Hieroglyphical Inscription at How, containing the name of a new King." Curiously enough, my dahabiëh was detained last winter by contrary wind at the same place, so that I was able not only to copy the same inscription, but also another one which was brought to our dahabiëh in different pieces, and bought by Dr. Krall, who was with me. Probably it is now in the Museum at Vienna.

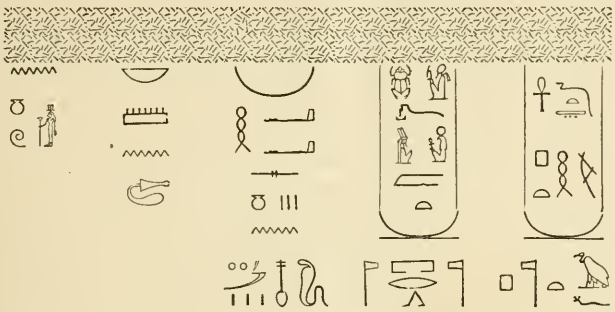
The place itself was not at all unknown to me. Already in the February of 1870, coming down in the dahabiëh from Queneh to Bellianeh, we were obliged to stop at the place because our poor boatmen would not pass by without bringing their humble presents to the saint of the place, the renowned Sheikh Selim. We ourselves,

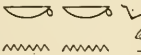
to make the acquaintance of so curious a saint, followed our crew to the neighbouring hills, where Sheikh Selim was sitting, surrounded by his family, in the state of complete nudity. The saint, who was then an aged man, enjoyed the well-founded reputation to overcome female sterility, so that a number of men, wishing to have offspring, brought to him their wives : a curious sort of worship, dating probably from old times, and bringing to mind the veneration of the gods Amon and Khem. Meanwhile Sheikh Selim died some years ago, aged more than ninety years. He was buried not far from the place at which he sat during his whole lifetime. Our present crew felt the same obligation to the tomb of the saint as the former felt for the living; reïs, pilot and crew walked to the small cell, wherein the santon was brought to rest. Three living cats, perhaps his former property, were lying on the coffin, which was covered with a green flag. On the walls I saw models of dahabiëhs, proving that he was considered an adjutor of navigation. Arabic inscriptions were placed here and there. Our curiosity satisfied, we proceeded to the town of How, believed to be the site of Diospolis Parva. We asked for inscriptions and tombs, and were guided outside and south-west of the town to some hills which contained holes, probably tombs, but without inscriptions. At my request, the people brought from a neighbouring place an inscribed stone, which, as they said, belonged to the sheikh, who was absent. I was not allowed to copy the stone without paying twenty piastres. The inscription is the same as that given by Professor Sayce. But my copy giving corrections in important places, I give it under A. Of a new *king* I can find on trace, but surely the name of a goddess Hathor *neferhotep*, like the Chonsu neferhotep of Thebes, whose statue was sent to Bakhtan for medical purposes.

I translate : "All good and sweet things . . . all nourishment to thy person, the Osiris, holy father of Hathor neferhotep, chief of the divine priests of Hathor, lady of On, chief of the divine priests of Hathor neferhotep, scribe of the holy temple, scribe of roasting, scribe of the white houses (palace), scribe of the seal, scribe of the administration, divine priest of the great Sekhet of the house of Sekhemu (holy name of How), *àm àbt* (monthly priest; *cf.* Brugsch, *Wörterb.* continued, S. 72), in the first class of the four philæ (classes) *nest ta* (throne of the country), house of Hathor neferhotep, *t'et ast aufanχ* (*cf.* Lieblein, "Dictionary Register") son of the divine priest of Hathor neferhotep, Neskhons, his mother, the lady of the house,

ahi of the temple Sekhet Sekhemu, Khonsu Khent, making the libations for his beloved son Neskhons, saying to him: Given to thee thy libations these, the sacrifices, proceeding with Horus, brought to thee the essences emanating from Osiris, not is stopped thy heart. Buried [near] Osiris in the western region. Given to thee the eye of Horus (wine), refreshed thy heart with it. Royal offering. Pacified . . . in the west in all his places, Osiris, *t'et ast aufanχ*, brought to thee the eye of Horus, consecrated to thee water in it, freshness and aliment."

When we went back to the town of How, we were shown by another man a fragment with the name of Ptolemaeus Philometor still in place.



To Dr. Krall a slab of calcareous stone was offered; he bought it, and after being returned to our boat, the men came with another slab, belonging to the same stone. Seeing its incompleteness, he asked for other pieces, but without effect. I give under B what has been bought. It contains the same holy name of the town, and belonged to a lady (Kakar (?), with the determinative of a dancer (*cf.*  and  Brugsch, *Wörterb.*) daughter of the second priest, etc.

The plate of Inscriptions will be issued with the next number of the *Proceedings*.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 2nd February, 1886, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read :—

I.—WILLIAM SIMPSON :—"The Tower of Babel and the Birs-Nimroud. Suggestions as to the Origin of the Mesopotamian Tower-Temples."

II.—E. LEFÉBURE :—"Le Cham et l'Adam égyptiens."

NOTICES.

SUBSCRIPTIONS to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount £1 1*s.* at once to the *Treasurer*, B. T. BOSANQUET, Esq., 73, Lombard Street, E.C.

PAPERS proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having NEW MEMBERS to propose are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council. On application, the proper nomination forms may be obtained from the Secretary.

The LIBRARY of the Society, at 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, when the Secretary is in attendance to transact the general business of the Society.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

SIXTEENTH SESSION, 1885-86.

Fourth Meeting, 2nd February, 1886.

WALTER MORRISON, Esq., Vice-President,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Royal Institute of British Architects : — Journal of Proceedings. Vol. II, New Series. No. 6. 4to. January, 1886 ; and Vol. II, New Series. No. 7.

From the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland :— The Journal. New Series, Vol. XVIII, Part 1. January, 1886. 8vo. London.

From the Palestine Exploration Fund : — Quarterly Statement. January, 1886. 8vo. London.

From the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres :—Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'année. Quatrième série. Tome XIII. Bulletin de Juillet-Août-Septembre. 8vo. Paris. 1885.

From the Editor:—Johns Hopkins University Studies. Third Series. Nos. 11 and 12. The City of Washington, its Origin and Administration. H. B. Adams. 8vo. Baltimore. November and December, 1885.

From J. Holmes, Esq.:—Hebrew Characters derived from Hieroglyphic Sacred Writings; and especially the Creation and Fall of Man (Second Edition) and the Rites of Bacchus. By John Lamb, D.D. 8vo. Cambridge. 1835.

From the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres:—Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum ab Academia Inscriptionum et Litterarum Humaniorum Conditum atque Digestum. Tomus I. Parisiis. 1885. Two Parts.

From the Secretary:—Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes tenu en 1883 à Leide. Deuxième Partie. Section I. Sémitique. Two parts. 8vo. 1885.

From the Author:—Obituary Notice of Dr. Birch. By Eugène Revillout.

From the Author:—Meteorological Works, in three books, and La découverte d'Origine des langues Allemande, Anglaise, et Française, leurs definition consecutive mot-à-mot; in Russian. By M. Platon Lucachevitch. 8vo.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the Meeting on January 12th, 1886:—

Rev. R. Waddy Moss, 17, Ashgrove, Bradford, Yorks.

Captain F. W. H. Petrie, F.G.S., Secretary, Victoria Institute, 7, Adelphi Terrace, W.C.

John Evans, LL.D., F.R.S., &c., President of the Society of Antiquaries, Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:—

The Rector of St. Benno's College, St. Asaph.

The Secretary announced that Sir Henry Layard was unable to accept the office of President of the Society, owing to absence from the country during the months of the Session, and that therefore, in accordance with Rule XXXVI, the Council had elected Mr. Walter Morrison (*Vice*-President).

Mr. W. Simpson read a Paper on "The Tower of Babel and The Birs Nimroud—Suggestions as to the Origin of Mesopotamian Tower Temples." A number of drawings and plans were exhibited, including a coloured restoration of the Tower of Babel.

The Tower of Babel having been identified by late writers—George Rawlinson, in the "Dictionary of the Bible," and Mr. Fergusson in his "Handbook of Architecture"—as a building of which the Birs Nimroud may be taken as the type, the theory of the paper, supposing this assumption to be correct, applies to both structures. They were known as *Zikkuratus;* there were many of these temples in Mesopotamia, and as some were dedicated to the worship of various gods and sacred objects, the reference to the seven planets at the Birs Nimroud, which may be assumed as being peculiar to that monument, does not explain the origin of the other terraced towers, where we have no indication of an astronomical character; and the "observatory" theory thus breaks down. The theory proposed in the paper is that the Mesopotamian terraced tower is a development from the primitive grave mound. On the west of Mesopotamia, we have in Egypt the Pyramid, a structure bearing a striking resemblance to the Zikkuratu, more particularly in the older monuments, such as the Sakara pyramid, which was built with seven terraces; and the Meidoon pyramid, which has also a number of terraces. The Egyptian pyramid is so very ancient, that we have no hints as to its origin; but we know that it was a tomb. The religious ceremonies connected with the dead were performed in a chapel at the base of the pyramid, hence there was no necessity for stairs of ascent, nor for a structure on the summit, thus giving us an instance as to how ritual affects the details of such structures. There were astronomical references in the arrangement of the great pyramid of Gizeh, which may be given, illustrating,—as in the case of the Birs Nimroud, that what is peculiar to that individual monument is no indication of the first origin of the pyramid. The pyramid is on the west of Mesopotamia; on the east, in India, we have remains of the Buddhist Stupa, or Dagoba. This, although dome-shaped, may be described as being also a solid pyramidal building; and its origin is not a disputed point with archæologists. In this case the ancient grave mound in the course of ages changed from an earth heap to a built monument. The

Stupa is yet a tomb, or relic-holder, and it is a temple, or place of worship. When India was Buddhist, thousands of these monuments existed, over a wide geographical space, extending from the Oxus to Ceylon; they varied in size, from a few inches to that of the great Stupa of Peshawer, which was 400 feet high. The Stupa, the Zikkuratu, and the pyramid stand out quite apart from all other ancient monuments of the east, from their size, pyramidal form, and from being solid masses. This last feature, according to the theory, they owe to their mound origin. Assyriologists in their translations of texts have as yet come upon no indications of the tomb origin of the Zikkuratus; hence it must be presumed that the change from the earth mound to the built form took place at a very early date, most probably in the time of the Accadians, who being Turanians, belonged to a race noted for their tomb building instincts. Among the evidences brought forward in the paper of the tomb character of the terrace towers, was the very direct statement of Strabo, that at Babylon, "the tomb of Belus is there. At present it is in ruins, having been demolished, as it is said, by Xerxes. It was a quadrangular pyramid of baked brick, a stadium in height, and each of the sides a stadium in length" (xvi, c. 5). This is no doubt the Birs Nimroud. Again, Lenormant, in his "Chaldean Magic," states that "Marduk, the tutelary god of Babylon, who was afterwards localised in the planet Jupiter, for he also died to return again to light, and his tomb was shown in the pyramids of Babylon" (p. 132). In addition to this, there is a sculpture from Koyunjik, a drawing of which was exhibited, representing a Zikkuratu on a mound, the mound in this case not being a flat mass, such as the palaces were erected on, but one round on the top, on which the terraced tower is represented as standing. [It may be noticed that Perrot and Chipier recognize the importance of this sculpture, as they make one of their restorations from it.] To the mind of the writer, an equally strong support to the theory is found in the tomb of Cyrus at Passargadæ, which is an exact copy in miniature of one of the terraced towers, it being a pyramid of seven terraces, surmounted by the sepulchral chamber. Without the terraced towers of Mesopotamia on the one side, and the Stupas of India on the other, this tomb would be a puzzle to archæologists, but by the theory of this paper its origin is easily followed. A reference was also made to a communication of Mr. Boscawen's, in the *Academy*, December 4th, 1875, which indicates the mythical system of the Accadians, which may indicate

the ideas on which these mounds or pyramids were based. "The Olympus of the Accadians has just been illustrated by a translation of 'The Hymn to the Mountain of the World.' It was a mountain on the summit of which the gods resided, in the interior of which was Hades, the land of 'No Return,' surrounded by seven walls, guarded by only one door each." The tumulus as a tomb would thus be a microcosm of the world. It was also pointed out in the paper of the evening, that as the tops of sacred mountains, holy places, and temples, were supposed to be where the gods descended to earth from heaven, that these again became the spots by which at the end of life men passed upwards to the divine presence, they became "gates;" illustrating the old words, "death is the gate of life;" hence the tomb was the connecting link with the next world. This simple explanation throws light on the word Bab-il, or the "gate of God," and on the statement that the Tower of Babel was to communicate with heaven. The Zikkuratus, even the Birs Nimroud, which was only about 250 feet high, never could, more particularly in the clear atmosphere of that part of the world, have appeared to touch the heavens. The common expression about Mohamed's coffin hanging between heaven and earth, finds in the same way an easy explanation. Saints' tombs are places of prayer all over the Mohammedan world, and it is not unusual to write over the entrance of these shrines, "This is the Gate of the Gardens of Paradise." Mohamed's tomb is the most sacred of all shrines to his followers, and as the Gate of Heaven, it is the link between this world and the next. Our notion of his coffin hanging in the air, between heaven and earth, it will thus be seen, is based on a misunderstanding of words. References were also made in the paper to the grave mounds of Northern China, including the Ming tombs; also to the Temple of Heaven in Peking, and other monuments; but the author limits his identification of the terraced towers more particularly to the pyramid of Egypt and the Buddhist Stupa of India, whose character as tombs are recognized data in archæology.

Dear Rylands,

In looking over the notes I made before writing my paper, I find one or two references which I omitted to make use of, and as they seem to be of some value, I shall feel obliged if you will give them in the *Proceedings*.

Layard states that: "According to some, the tomb of Ninus was in Babylon, where, it will be remembered, Ovid places the 'Busta Nini;' according to others at Nineveh. Ctesias relates that when her husband died, Semiramis buried his body in the palace, and raised over it a huge tumulus or pyramid of earth, which was visible from afar, and was still standing after the destruction of the city and the fall of the empire." ("Nineveh and its Remains," Vol, II, p. 476.) I have never read Ctesias, and have not a copy of his book to refer to, so I must quote this from second hand. His date is about 400 B.C., and if the quotation can be depended on, it is evident that at that time the notion of a tumulus or pyramid being a tomb was accepted in the region of the two-rivers, and the main point of my paper on the Terrace Towers finds here a strong support. Layard also refers to the tomb of Sardanapalus, which, "according to Amynthus, at the gate of the Assyrian capital was a high artificial terrace or tumulus, which was the tomb of the monarch, and bore an inscription to that effect in Chaldean letters." (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 477.) An "artificial terrace, or tumulus," evidently refers to a monument which, if not a Zikkuratu, must have been very similar in its character.

I also find a small note made for me by Mr. Pinches; it is as follows: "One of the renderings of the characters for 'mound' in the syllabaries is *sukku ša tîli êlli apsi*, the booth (shrine) of the glorious mound of the Abyss.' The word glorious mound (*tîli êlli*) being written with the same characters as those used for the word *tisri*." Perhaps Mr. Pinches would say if this "Abyss" of the mound has any relationship with Hades in the interior of the "Mountain of the World" alluded to by Mr. Boscawen. The religious ideas of a people are generally a useful guide to understand their architecture, and any information Mr. Pinches could supply on this subject would be most valuable.

One point I did not dwell upon sufficiently in my paper, and which has great weight in my own mind, is the solid form of the pyramid, the Stupa and the Zikkuratu, a peculiarity which separates them from the house-form of all temples, or walled towers. In the case of the Stupa we know that it owes this solid character from its being a repetition of what had been at one time a solid mound of earth. It is not likely that the pyramid of Egypt is a development from a house-form—meaning by that term a hollow structure with

walls;—and my theory assumes that the same rule must be applied to the Zikkuratus. The theory of the paper, it may be pointed out, involves a number of very important questions regarding a large class of ancient monuments, which extend from the Maeshow tumulus in the Orkneys, all the way to the mound tombs of China.

Remarks were added by Rev. Canon Beechey, Mr. J. Offord, jun., Mr. Pinches, Rev. Dr. Wright, Mr. W. Simpson, and the President.

Owing to the lateness of the hour, the Paper by M. E. Lefébure, "Le Cham et l'Adam égyptiens," was postponed until the next Meeting in March.

The following Communications have been received from Dr. A. Wiedemann:—

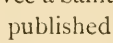
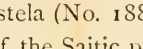
The Egyptian Monuments at Venice.

Of all the towns of Italy, Venice had undoubtedly, during the middle ages, the greatest intercourse with the East, and especially with Egypt, so much so as even to obtain from Alexandria the corpse of its greatest saint, St. Mark. The relations having been so numerous, we might expect to find in Venice a very large number of Egyptian antiquities. With this supposition I visited its different collections, but felt rather disappointed, finding but very few remains of this kind. Notwithstanding also that not one of them could pretend to be of first rate importance, I think it will be of interest to publish here the inscriptions, as just such single pieces lost and buried in collections are ordinarily overlooked.

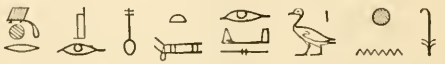
We find monuments at Venice in four different places: in the treasury of St. Mark, in the collections of the Armenians at St. Lazaro, in the Palazzo Ducale, and in the Museo Civico Correr.

In the treasury of St. Mark is found the celebrated vase with the quadrilingual writing of the name of the Persian king Artaxerxes, a proof of the right reading of the hieroglyphic as well as of the cuneiform characters. Pettigrew, in the "Archæologia," xxxi, p. 275 *sqq.*, and Longpérier, in the *Rev. Arch.*, I ser. i, 2, p. 444, *sqq.*,

497 *sqq.*,* have written on the piece. At St. Lazaro we find an Egyptian sarcophagus of the XXVIth Dynasty, covered with the ordinary inscriptions, mostly taken from the Ritual, but written in a very negligent style. A notice of this monument was given by Chabas, "Note sur la Momie conservée à Saint-Lazaire, Venise, 1870. These two monuments have been published or treated by others, so that a mere quotation will suffice here. The following texts are all unknown.

In the Museo archeologico of the Palazzo Ducale we find: (1) A stela (No. 188), rounded in its upper part, and showing the style of the Saitic period. Above, we see the winged sun, with the two sacred uræus, and his name, . "Ḥuṭ, the great god, the master of the heaven." Below is the sitting Osiris, with his ordinary emblems, the large crown, the whip, and the stick; his name is given as "Osiris." Behind him is standing Isis, whose name is written  "Isis," with the cow-horns and the sun-disk on her head, and the sceptre in her hand. Before Osiris stands an altar, and in front of it a man in adoration. His name,  "Nefer-Tum-ár-ṭu-s," is written above his head Underneath the representation we find in hieroglyphs of a bad style these three lines running from right to left:—

1. 

2. 

3. 

"(1) Royal offering to Anubis, the lord of his land, that he may give a good tomb (2) to the honorated before Osiris Nefer-Tum-ár-ṭu-s,

* Other notices about the vase have been given by Rawlinson in *Journal of the Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, X, pt. 3, p. 345; Benfey, "Die persischen Keilinschriften," p. 67; Oppert, "Inscript. des Achémenides, p. 288; Spiegel, "Die altpersischen Keilinschriften," p. 64; Westergaard, in *Mem. de la Soc. des Ant. du Nord*, 1844. p. 419 *f.*; Ménant, "Les Achéménides," p. 150.

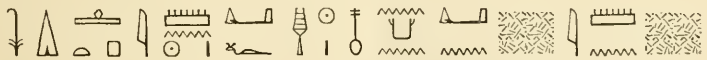
the son of Chunsu- (3) ár-nä-en, born by the lady of the house, Ta-ṭu-Nefer-Tum."

The private names quoted on this tablet do not appear, so far as I know, upon other monuments, but we find many names showing an analogous grammatical composition. As parallels to Nefer-Tum-ár-ṭu-s we have Ḥes-t-ár-ṭu-s, Chunsu-ár-ṭu-s, Mut-ár-ṭu-s, Ât-ár-ṭu-s, Âmen-ár-ṭu-s, &c. Most of these names are used for women as their grammatical sense. "Amen made her giving," seems to ask it, but we find Âmen-ár-ṭu-s, notwithstanding this literal sense, on the Stela 161 at Boulaq (Lieblein, "Dict. des Noms," No. 1076) used also for a man, and the same is the case with Nefer-Tum-ár-ṭu-s on our monument, where he is represented as a man. Names formed in this way, and those analogous to them, were particularly the fashion during the later period of Egyptian history. Amenârṭus and Mutârṭus are the names of two queens of the beginning of the XXVIth Dynasty, and Ta-ṭu-Bast, a parallel to Ta-ṭu-Nefer-Tum, was the name of the mother of Osorkon III of the XXIIIrd Dynastie. (*Cf.* Wiedemann, "Handb. der aeg. Gesch.," p. 562.) This particularity of the names proves, in connection with the style, the execution, &c., of the *stela*, that this monument at Venice dates from the Saitic period.

(2.) A cowering statue of granite, without inscription.

(3.) Head and shoulders of a badly-made statue, also without inscription.

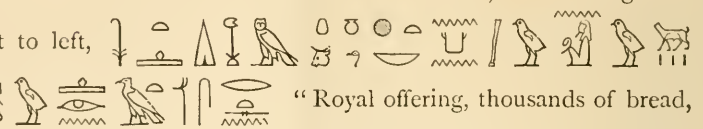
(4.) A cowering granite statue (No. 186), holding before it a *naos*, in which we see the representation of a standing god. On the back runs the badly-engraved inscription :—



"Royal offering to Amon-Ra, that he may give an agreeable lifetime to the person of Amen-" This statue was certainly made for a tomb at Thebes, and belongs to the period between the XIXth and the XXIst Dynasty. Unhappily the name of the owner of this monument has disappeared with its second half.

A richer collection than this one is that preserved in the more lately established Museo Civico, in the Palazzo Correr. There are several statues, Uschebtis, and two smaller pieces.

The first statue is made of black granite, and represents a man

sitting on his legs in the position of the celebrated scribe in the Louvre. The man's name is quoted in an inscription engraved above on the foreside of the basis of the statue, and running from right to left,  "Royal offering, thousands of bread, liquid, oxen, geese, all good things for the person of the speaker (?) of the palace-guardians, Mentu-ḥetep, born by Ta-Usertesen." These names, as well as the general character of the statue, show the work to be of the beginning of the XIIth Dynasty.

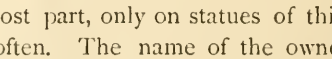
Of a second statue (No. 18), only the upper part is left. On the reverse side we find in two vertical lines the inscription :—

1. 

2. 

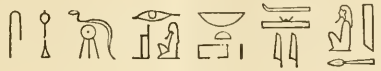
"(1) Image of the hereditary prince, sealer (lord high-treasurer?) unique friend, chief of the temples, counsellor of (2) born by the priestess of Neith, the lady of Sais, Ta-ta-ī. It may be given [to him] his renovation (when his divine personality is before him, he may not be retained, Ani, the deceased)."

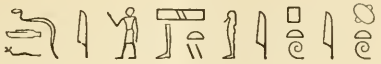
This statue belongs to the Saitic period, and was probably erected at the town of Sais. The formula which covers it has been treated several times, the last by myself in the *Rec. de Trav. rel.*, VI, p. 120 *sq.* It is a text found, for the most part, only on statues of this period, but occurring there very often. The name of the owner of the statue, who must have had an important place among the priests and functionaries of his time, is lost, with the end of the whole inscription.

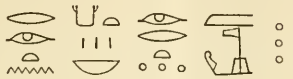
Even less is left of the third statue in the Museum (No. 4). It belonged to a group of at least two statues, of which we possess now only the upper part of one. The head is covered with a heavy wig, and tolerably well worked out. On the breast only is found an inscription, the beginning of the cartouche  the prenomen of Scheschonk I, the first king of the XXIInd Dynasty. The

statue shows not one of the ordinary emblems of king-statues, so that this cartouche gives us only the time in which the owner of our monument lived, but not the name of the owner himself.

Of the Uschebtis of the collection there is only one cut in wood, which has a long inscription (No. 19). It is very legible, and consists of four horizontal lines running from right to left:—

1. 

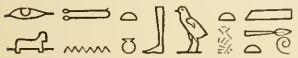
2. 

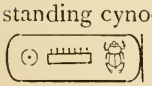
3. 

4. 

"(1) Illuminate the Osiris, the lady of the house, Ḥuī, the deceased (2) He (*sic*) says: Oh this Uschebti, apted (3) to the making of all works made in the subterranean world (4) to cultivate the fields, to irrigate."

The formula and general style of the statuette show that it dates from about the XIXth Dynasty. It is curious that the woman to which it belonged is introduced in the phrase "she says," with the masculine suffix, and this shows again how little the Egyptians cared, in religious formulas, about grammar and correct forms.

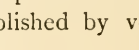
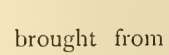
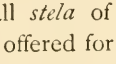
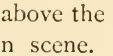
The two other Uschebtis give only the names of their owners; they are both made of burnt painted clay. The workmanship is very bad, but sufficient to demonstrate that they belong to the Theban dynasties. The first (No. 17) has the inscription  "The Osiris Ḥor, the deceased;" the other (No. 12) the text  "The Osiris Tent-nubut, the deceased."

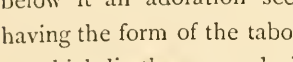
Besides these monuments there is a scarab (No. 560) showing a standing cynocephalus, in a position of adoration, before the cartouche  the prenomen of Tutmes III. Then there is a small

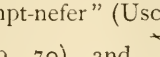
stone (No. 567), with an engraved picture of the childish Harpokrates sitting on a lotus-flower, the right hand at his mouth, and holding with the left a whip of the form . This amulet belongs to the Greek or Roman period.

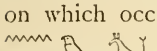
Notes on the Cult of Set and on the Hyksos-Kings.

1. Among the numerous scarabs inscribed with the Chapter of the Heart in the Museum of Leyden, one (O. 95) has a peculiar interest from the title of its owner. It belonged once to the  to "the priest of Set Âḥ-mes." The name and the style of the scarab show that it dates from the XXVIth Dynasty, and that the single cult of Set was still usual at that time in Egypt. Perhaps Âḥmes was priest in the temple of Set at Heliopolis mentioned on a statue at Vienna (published by von Bergmann, *Aegypt. Zeitschr.*, 1882, p. 41).

2. A small *stela* of calcareous stone, probably brought from Erment, was offered for sale at Luqsor in January, 1881. It was rounded at the top; above the winged sun-disk was carved in and below it an adoration scene. A standing man offered an object having the form of the tabouret *uš* . He stands before an altar, on which lie three round pieces of bread. On the other side stands first a human-headed god, inscribed as , and behind him a divinity with the head of Set, quoted as  [probably for ]. We see here Ptah and Set adored side by side, an interesting specimen of the official cult devoted to Set in the temples of Upper Egypt, where the chief place of his adoration was the often quoted Ombos. Here he ordinarily bore the title as on our *stela*  "the lord of the land of the South."

3. An Uschebti at Bologna, painted and worked in the style of the XXI-XXVIth Dynasty, bears on the front side the inscription  "the Osiris Bak-en-Set, the deceased;" so that the name of Set is here used in the same manner as in other

instances the names of Amen, Chonsu, &c., for the formation of proper names. Other names formed with Set and not noted in Lieblein, *Dict. des Noms*, are  "the prophet of Bast Set, the son of Renpt-nefer" (Uschebti at Dresden, *cf.* Ebers, *Aegypt. Zeitschr.*, 1881, p. 70), and  Mer-sute$_X$, a female-name in an inscription on the rock near Assouan.

4. A good example of the designation of the supreme power by the combination of Horus and Set is given by the *stela*, Leyden V, 68, on which occurs, as the name of one of the sons of the deceased,  "the power of Horus and Set." It is curious to find in this connection, that Plutarchus, *de Iside et Osiride*, cap. 50, pretends that the hawk was given to Typhon as a symbol of power and dominion.

5. Closely connected with the history of the cult of Set is that of the two Hyksos-dynasties, during which he became and remained for some time the chief god of Egypt. Unfortunately the history of this period is almost unknown, and only dispersed notices of it have been found till now. Not even the names of the kings of which the dynasties consisted have been preserved. Only the six first are quoted by Manetho, who probably knew himself nothing exact about these foreign kings. That their number must have been a very large one may be concluded by the period of 511 years during which they reigned over Egypt, but only very few rulers have been found till now on monuments, and of these we know nearly nothing more than their names. In my "Handbuch der Aegyptischen Geschichte," p. 293 *sqq.*, I placed on record the different notes at that time known from the inscriptions, and the names given upon scarabs and other small monuments which appeared to belong to the Hyksos-kings. Several of these names were found on still unpublished monuments, and so I could only give the transcription of them, the use of hieroglyphs being forbidden to me by the general arrangement of the book. But I am well aware that these transcriptions are not sufficient to make the inscriptions really known, as a transcription can never be exact enough to compensate for the want of the original readings. Without these the transcribed forms have only a temporary value. Under these circumstances it will be

welcome if the original names are printed here, so far as they have not yet been published in the same form. They are :—

Ra-nub (one form in Lepsius, *Koenigsbuch*, No. 799) is written  (coll. Grant ;* a scarab at Vienna shows above  the scarab, on whose sides are two snakes, the one with the crown of Upper, the other with the crown of Lower Egypt).

Ra-en-nub (Lepsius, *Koenigsbuch*, Nos. 847 and 860:)†  (coll. Farman at Alexandria) ;  (coll. Loftie) ;  (Lyon).

Ra-nub-neb :  (Grant).

Ra-nub-Maā :  (3 Loftie; 1 Grant);  (Louvre, Salle des dieux).

Ra-nub-Maā-nefer : (3 Grant).

Ra-nub-peḥ :  1 (Farman).

Ra-χā-seχet-Nub :  (Grant).

Ra-Set, the proper name of a king, whose *prenom* Ra-nefer-χeper is found on many scarabs, occurs very seldom. The more a fine scarab of Phœnician origin is interesting which was found at Cyprus (Cesnola, *Salaminia*, p. 142 *sq.*). Its inscription is U-Set-ȧ(?)-en, which appears to be a bad copy of an Egyptian original, showing the signs Ra-set-en, the name of this Hyksos-king.

Nub, named  "king of Lower Egypt Nub," (4 Grant, 1 Sayce from Memphis, 1 in the Louvre, S. hist. 605, 1 at Agram) ;  "the good god, the lord of the two countries Nub" (Louvre, S. hist. 605) ;  "king of Lower Egypt Nub,"

* All pieces where only the collection is indicated, are scarabs.

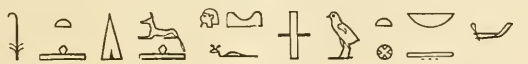
† Lepsius appears to have taken this cartouche from the scarab No. 860, at Florence.

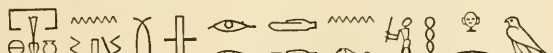
(twice on a rectangular amulet in my possession, enclosed each time in cartouches, which are crowned with the signs . On the reverse are eight uræus snakes in two lines, each containing four of these sacred emblems. The piece was bought at Cairo. A scarab with the same inscription has been published in *Descr. d'Eg. Ant.*, V, pl. 87, No. 64).

The Monuments of the Ancient and of the Middle Empire in the Museum at Karlsruhe.

Though the collection of Egyptian antiquities in the Museum at Karlsruhe is not a very large one, it contains several monuments well worth publishing. In the first place there are some *stelæ* and inscriptions of the ancient and middle empire, interesting on account of the titles and names they give, and of the formula used to express the funeral wishes.

1. Tablet of calcareous stone, very well worked out, rectangular in shape, about 35 centims. high and 45 centims. wide. The tablet was offered to me for sale at Luqsor at the beginning of January, 1881, and was purchased afterwards by the late traveller Riebeck, and offered by him to the Museum. The inscription consists of four vertical lines running from right to left without being separated by lines. A man is represented standing with a stick in his left and the sign in his right hand, his head covered with the ordinary wig, and wearing a collar and the usual dress. Behind him his wife, in ordinary shape, holds with her right hand the left arm of her husband, and with her left hand his shoulder. The inscription runs thus :—

1. 

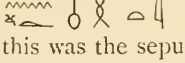
2. 

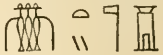
3. 

4. 

"Royal offering to Anubis Tep-ṭu-f, being in Ut, the lord of the

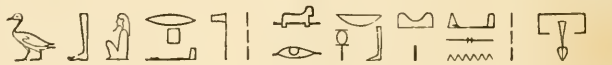
land T'er. (2) All sorts of gifts in liquid, cakes, and bread, may be to the inspector of the equipment of the sailors of the fleet (?), who vanquished (?) the inhabitants of the Arabian mountains (3) in their countries, bringing to the king all gifts of the lands of the South, (4) the honoured before the large god."

Then follow the names of the represented persons in this form,  and , showing that this was the sepulchral tablet of a man bearing the good name Ḥentâ and his wife Butâ. The form and style of the *stela* show that it belongs to the ancient empire; unhappily it is impossible to determine if it was really found at Thebes, where it was bought or only brought there by the Arabs, thinking it easier to sell it there than elsewhere in Egypt.

2. *Stela*, rounded at the top, 37 centims. high, and 22 centims. wide. Above at the right and left the Anubis-animal is lying over a temple door. Behind one of them there is written  "being in the temple;" behind the other  "lord of the country," both titles of Anubis.

Then follows in six horizontal lines, running from right to left, the stela-text:—

1. 

2. 

3. 

4.  (*sic*)

5. 

6. (this line is shorter, as the former ones, and stands between the figures of the deceased)  "Royal offering to Ptah-Sokaris, to Anubis, the lord of the land Mater, (2) to Seb,

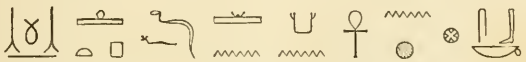

Nephthys.
Isis.
Osiris.
A lady.
A man.
A lady.

the first of the gods, to Osiris, the lord of Abydos, that they may give offerings (3) 1,000 of bread and liquid, 1,000 of oxen and geese, 1,000 of clothes, 1,000 of incense, (4) 1,000 of wax, 1,000 of all good and pure things, of which lives (5) a god, to the person of the scribe of the nomos, the scribe of the temple Sen-tes, the deceased. (6) His wife was the favourite of the King Âftenu, the deceased.

Below stands at the left side a man holding in his right hand a stick, in the left a band; opposite is a woman standing with stiffly down-hanging arms, and between the two an altar with three cakes and a goose. The monument belongs to the period between the XIIth and XVIIth Dynasties, and is of good workmanship.

3. *Stela*, rounded at the top, 30 centims. high and 21 centims. wide, very roughly engraved in linear characters, though belonging to the same period as the former. At the top at the right and left are the signs ; in the middle the Q. Below are four horizontal lines running from right to left :—

1. 

2. 

3. 

4. 

"Royal offering to Osiris, the lord of Abydos, that he may give all sorts of offerings in bread, liquid, oxen, geese, (2) cloth gifts and abundance to the person of the citizen Sebek-ṭuṭu-neb-t-pe-ĭu-fet-seb, the son of the citizen Chunsu, the deceased."

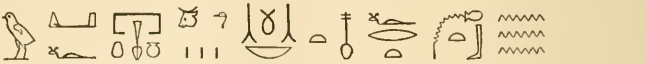
Below stands at the right the deceased, smelling at a flower, at the left his wife, and between them an altar covered with different offerings in bread, oxen-head, plants, etc.

4. *Stela* of ordinary shape, rounded at the top, bought by myself in 1880 at Thebes from an Arab, who pretended that the monument came from the oasis of Khargeh; given afterwards to the Museum. At the top the animals of Anubis lie on a temple-building; between

them the vertical line  "the lord of the illuminating," one of Anubis's titles.

Then three horizontal lines running from right to left :—

1. 

2. 

3. 

"Royal offering to Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, the lord of Ṭaṭu, the great god of Abydos, (2) that he may give offerings in bread and liquid, oxen, geese, clothes, all good and pure [things], of which (3) a god lives, to the person of Âi and his wife Âḥ-ḥetep." Underneath there is the representation of the deceased and his wife, both sitting; before them is an altar with different offerings, then the vertical line , then an offering wife, the line , and a standing wife .

The name of Âḥ-ḥetep is quite similar to the name of the mother of the founder of the XVIIIth Dynasty. The bad style, the faulty execution, the missing signs and words are all peculiarities of the same period, so that the *stela* forms a characteristic specimen of the time of the XVIIth Dynasty.

5. Altar-plate, 40 centims. long and 27 centims. wide. The inscription runs from the middle of the upper part to the right and left side down to the middle of the under part, where a canal runs from the inside to the outside. On the right side we read :—

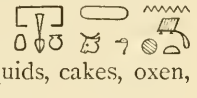


"Royal offering to Anubis ṭep-ṭu-f, being in Ut, the lord of the land T'er. A good interment in the subterranean world in the western land (may be) to the honourated Sa-t-Ântef."

On the left side the inscription is:—

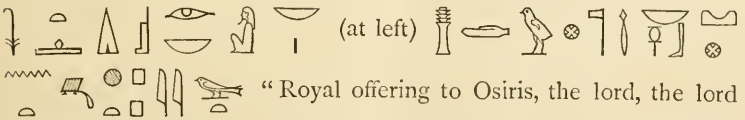


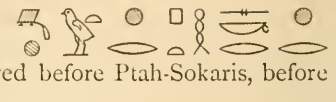
"Royal offering to Osiris, the lord of Mendes, the large god, the lord of Abydos! All offerings in bread, liquids, cakes, oxen, geese (may be) to the honourated before Ptah-Sokaris, Sat-Ântef, the daughter of Sent."

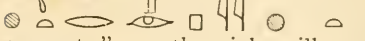
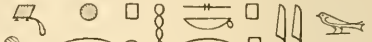
The portion surrounded by this inscription is divided in two parts by a band of hieroglyphs, separated in the middle by a canal. The two parts of this band are quite identical, only the arrangement of the signs shows some differences; they say:  "all sorts of offerings in bread, liquids, cakes, oxen, geese, to the honourated Sat-Ântef." In the upper part we see the representation of an altar covered with leaves, flowers, geese, oxen, cakes, vases, &c., executed in a very nice style.

The name of the deceased shows that this beautiful piece belongs to the XIth Dynasty, and the titles of the divinities make it very probable that it was originally worked for a tomb at Abydos, where monuments of this period of Egyptian history are very abundant.

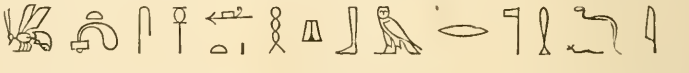
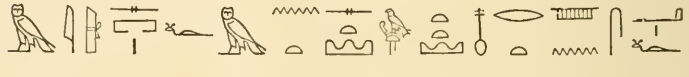
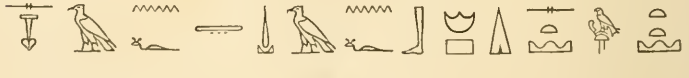
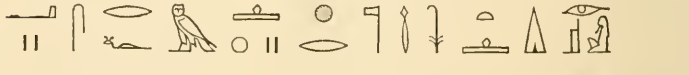
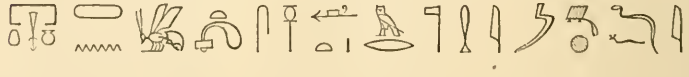
These are the inscriptions dating from the ancient empire, and now at Karlsruhe. As an appendix to them it seems useful to publish two texts of the same period, which I had occasion to copy in 1880 in Egypt.

The first monument was then in the hands of the bookseller Mr. Kaufmann, at Cairo, in the Muski. It represents an Egyptian tomb-door, around which runs an inscription divided into two parts. The first, covering the upper part and the left side, says:  (at left) "Royal offering to Osiris, the lord, the lord of Mendes, the large god, the lord of Abydos, for the honourated

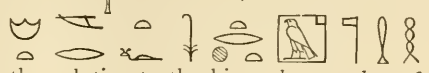
Pepi-ur-t." On the right side stands:  "the honoured before Ptah-Sokaris, before the large god, the lord of heaven, Pepi-en-χent."

Between these texts a man sits before an altar covered with offerings. Beneath we see an architrave ornamented with the two Ut'a-eyes, and then the door itself. On the left pillar is engraved  "honourated before Osiris Pepi-en-χent;" on the right pillar:  "honourated before Ptah-Sokaris Pepi-urt." The monument dates, as the names of its owners and its style show, from the VIth Dynasty; the names of the two women are otherwise unknown.

The second piece was offered to me at Louqsor. It was a calcareous stone plate of oblong form. At the right side were six horizontal lines, running from right to left:—

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 

(1) "Royal offering to Anubis in his temple, Ṭep-ṭu-f, being in Ut. (2) May be buried the sealer (?) the only friend, the reciting-priest, the president of the prophets T'efa (3) in his tomb which is in the good land of the Amenti. May she (the Amenti) take his hand! (4) May he join himself to the earth, and navigate on the firmament! May give the land of Amenti (5) his two arms to him in peace,

in peace before the large god! Royal offering to Osiris! (6) Offerings of bread, liquid, and cakes (may be) to the sealer, the only friend, the president of the prophets, the honoured T'efa." On the left side of this inscription stands a man, the stick  in his hand, and behind him his wife. Above is written  "his wife, he loves, the relative to the king, the prophet of Hathor Ḥent-s."

The text of this *stela* is very similar to the inscription of a *stela* from El Kab, published by von Bergmann (*Aegypt. Zeitschrift*, 1882, p. 36). It is very possible that our *stela* comes from the same place, and that its owner T'efa is the son of the prophet Neb-su-Ḥor, of which von Bergmann published also the *stela* (l.l., p. 37). This Neb-su-Ḥor had a son T'efa, who was ; perhaps he obtained afterwards some more titles, which he noticed on our *stela* without forgetting his first position. That the *stela* was in the hands of an Arab at Thebes speaks not against its origin of El Kab, as Thebes is the principal market-place for antiquities in the whole of Upper Egypt. Also the *stela* of Neb-su-Ḥor, published by Bergmann as coming from El Kab, was offered for sale in January, 1881, at Luqsor. The formula on these *stela*, which is slightly different from the formula found on the *stela* of Abydos and Memphis supplies us probably with the Upper Egyptian form of texts of this kind, and shows a certain opposition between the customs of the two parts of Egypt.

The time from which all these monuments originate is the VIth Dynasty, and they prove thus the early flourishing state of the towns of Upper Egypt, where besides also other objects of this old time have been found during recent years (*cf.* Maspero in *Aegypt. Zeitschrift*, 1882, p. 124). By all these texts we see that the idea that the Egyptian empire was then limited to the lower parts of the Nile valley is false. The Egyptian language and religion occupied yet at the beginning of the historical period the whole country from the Mediterranean Sea as far at least as the cataracts of Assuan.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 2nd March, 1886, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read :—

I. Memoir of Dr. Birch by P. le Page Renouf and E. A. W. Budge, M.A., with Notes on the Chinese by Professor Douglas.

II. E. Lefébure :—"Le Cham et l'Adam égyptiens."

III. Dr. M. Gaster :—The Apocalypse of Abraham.

NOTICES.

Subscriptions to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount £1 1*s.* at once to the *Treasurer*, B. T. Bosanquet, Esq., 54, St. James's Street, S.W.

Papers proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having New Members to propose are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council. On application, the proper nomination forms may be obtained from the Secretary.

The Library of the Society, at 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, when the Secretary is in attendance to transact the general business of the Society.

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Botta, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
Place, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866–1869. 3 vols., folio.
Brugsch-Bey, Grammaire Démotique. 1 vol., folio.
———— Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
———— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
Dümichen, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
———— 2nd series, 1869.
———— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1866.
———— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
Golenischeff, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
Lepsius, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
De Rougé, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
Wright, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.
Schroeder, Die Phönizische Sprache.
Haupt, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
Schrader, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
Rawlinson, Canon, 6th and 7th Ancient Monarchies.
Pierret, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. 8vo. Paris, 1875.
Burkhardt, Eastern Travels.
Wilkinson, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824–30. (*Text only.*)
Chabas, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, II, III. 1862–1873.
———— Voyage d'un Egyptien en Syrie, en Phénicie, &c. 4to. 1867.
———— Le Calendrier des Jours Fastes et Néfastes de l'année Égyptienne. 8vo. 1877.
Maspero, Du genre épistolaire chez les Égyptiens de l'époque Phraonique. 8vo. Paris, 1872.
———— De Carchemis oppidi Situ et Historia Antiquissimâ. 8vo. Paris, 1872.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

SIXTEENTH SESSION, 1885-86.

Fifth Meeting, 2nd March, 1886.

F. D. MOCATTA, Esq.,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Royal Society :—The Proceedings. Vol. XXXIX. No. 240. 8vo. London.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects :—The Journal of Proceedings, Vol. II, New Series. No. 9. 18th February, 1886. 4to. London.

From the Royal Geographical Society :—The Proceedings, February, 1886. Vol. VIII. No. 2. 8vo.

From the Geological Society :—The Quarterly Journal, Vol. XLII. Part I. No. 165. February, 1886. 8vo.

From the Royal Archæological Institute :—The Archæological Journal. Vol. XLII. No. 168. 8vo. London. 1885.

From the Royal Asiatic Society :—Journal of China Branch. Vol. XX. No. 4, New Series. Shanghai. 1885.

From the Anthropological Institute:—The Journal. Vol. XV, No. 3. February, 1886. 8vo. London.

From the Northern Society of Antiquaries:—Aarboger [Year-Book]. Part IV. 1885. List of Members. 1885. 8vo. Copenhagen. 1885.

From the Editor:—The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Edited by S. D. Peet. Vol. VIII, No. 1. January, 1886. Chicago.

From the Smithsonian Institution:—Third Annual Report of The Bureau of Ethnology. J. W. Powell, Secretary. 8vo. Washington. 1884.

From the Editor:—The Johns Hopkins University Studies. Fourth Series. I.—Dutch Village Communities on the River Hudson. By Irving Elting, A.B. 8vo. Baltimore. 1886.

From the American Oriental Society:—The Proceedings at New York. 8vo. October, 1885.

From the Author:—The Babylonian and Assyrian Cylinder Seals of the British Museum. By Theo. G. Pinches, Esq. 8vo. London, 1885.

Reprinted from the Journal of the British Archæological Association. 1885.

From the Author:—Les Castes en Égypte. Par Dr. A. Wiedemann. Extrait du Museon. 8vo. Louvain. 1886.

From the Author:—Recherches sur la Glyptique Orientale, M. J. Menant. Second Partie. 8vo. 1886.

From the Author:—The Empire of the Hittites. By W. Wright, D.D., F.R.G.S. Second Edition. 8vo. London. 1886.

From the Author:—Bibliography of Egypt and the Soudan from earliest Times to 1885 inclusive. By H. H. Prince Ibrahim Hilmy. Vol. I. 8vo. 1886.

From the Publishers, Messrs. Longmans & Co.:—The Book of Genesis. A translation from the Hebrew. By François Lenormant. Translated from the French. 8vo. London. 1886.

From William Simpson:—Discovery of Caves on the Murghab. By Captain De Laessoë and the Hon. W. G. Talbot, R.E. From the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. XVIII. Part 1. 8vo.

From the Author:—Inscriptions Cunéiformes Nouvellement Découvertes en Chaldée. By J. Oppert. 8vo. Leide. 1885.
Tiré du Vol. II des Travaux de la 6e session du Congrès International des Orientalistes à Leide.

From the Editor:—The American Journal of Archæology and of the Fine Arts. 8vo. October, 1885. Baltimore.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next meeting, on 6th April, 1886:—

Rev. James George Kitchin, 4, Heathfield Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.

Rev. William L. Lawson, Abinger House, Abbey Road, N.W.

Mr. E. A. W. Budge read a Memoir of the late Dr. Birch, by P. Le Page Renouf and E. A. W. Budge, with Notes on his Chinese Studies by Professor Douglas.

The Secretary read a Paper by M. E. Lefébure, entitled "Le Cham et l'Adam égyptiens."

Remarks were added by Rev. A. Löwy, Mr. F. D. Mocatta, Mr. E. A. W. Budge, and the Secretary.

A description of the Apocalypse of Abraham was read by Dr. Gaster.

Ceasing of prophecy.—Symbolical visions.—Book of Daniel; model for the apocalyptical literature.—Why called *apocalyptic?*—Its peculiar obscure character.—Its heavenly contents.

Apocalyptical literature, also nameless, but ascribed to venerated personages.—Also to the patriarchs.—Hence its great authority.

The part taken by the heretical sects.—The use made by them of the apocalyptical literature.—Incidents changed, or legends invented.

Persecution by the ruling church.—Consequences of it.—Parts of this literature destroyed.

Various legends missing.—Amongst others the Apocalypse of Abraham.—Its surviving until the present day in the Slavonic and

Roumanian languages.—Its discovery by Dr. Gaster.—The relation between these two versions.—Fragments of it in both languages.

Its probable Greek origin.—Historical and linguistic proofs.—Its identity with the old text, missing until now.

Parallels to this text in the corresponding Jewish and other apocalyptic literature.

Similarity of the first part (Apocalypse) to the apocryphal apocalypse of St. Paul, especially to its Oriental version.—Similarity of the second part (death of Abraham) to the legends relating to the death of Moses.

Text of the Apocalypse in a literal translation.

Remarks were added by Rev. A. Löwy, Dr. Adler, P. R. Reed, and the Chairman. Thanks were returned for these communications.

The following Communication has been received from E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A.:—

The Mummy and Coffin of Nes-Âmes, Prophet of Âmes and Chonsu.

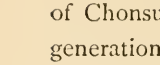
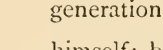
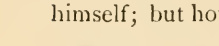
The mummy and coffin of Nes-Âmes were bought at Luxor by W. H. Ingram, Esq., when he was returning with the late expedition from the Soudan. They were recently brought to London and deposited at the office of the *Illustrated London News*, where, through the courtesy of the owner, I was allowed to see them and copy the inscription.

The head of the mummy is entirely severed from the body, owing to the shaking which the box received on its road home. The appearance of the inside of the break is regular, and of a blackish-brown; the whole mummy was steeped in bitumen, and was wrapped in a thin pinkish-brown linen covering, fragments of which still remain. The head of the mummy was enclosed in a richly-painted cartonage with a gilded face, which has since been presented to the British Museum by C. Ingram Esq.; and a small hæmatite scarabæus and a richly-painted pectoral were found inside the coffin. The wooden coffin which held the mummy is 6 feet 1 inch long, and 21 inches in width across the shoulders. The face and ears are gilded, and the eyebrows and lids are made of blue glass inlaid. At the head is a winged scarabæus holding a signet in its hind legs; its wings bend round, and falling by the sides of the face form the upper part of the head-dress. The feathers are coloured dark red,

dark blue, green, black, and yellow. Around the neck, and falling on the breast, is a necklace, to which is attached a breast-plate containing ten rows of ornaments, consisting of pendants, lotus flowers, and fleurettes; each side of the breast-plate terminates in the head of a hawk wearing a disk and uræus. Beneath the breast-plate is a figure of Nut or heaven holding the feather in each hand. In the first division beneath the figure of Nut to the right is a figure of the ram of Âmen, wearing disk, feathers, and horns, and standing upon a stand ; while behind him is the emblem of the West . This representation is repeated on the left, only the sign stands instead of . The rams face each other, and over each is .

In the second division the centre part is taken up by a picture of the soul visiting the mummy of the deceased, which lies upon a bier facing to the right; underneath the bier are four jars, whose covers are made in the shape of the heads of the four genii of the dead. To the right stand Nephthys, Hapi, and Ṭûamutef, and to the left Isis and Kabhsenuf; each addresses the deceased, and informs him that she or he "makes protection," , for him. In the third division is an inscription of fifteen horizontal lines, giving the name of the deceased and his pedigree, etc. On the right side stand the three gods Tmu, χepera, and Osiris, and on the left Harmachis, Seb, and Horus; they each hold a whip, and "make protection" for the Osiris or deceased. On the slanting part, at the foot of the coffin, are two figures of Anubis on a sepulchre; and underneath, the mummy is represented lying on the back of a bull. The spaces in the several divisions are occupied with short inscriptions containing the usual formulæ, and prayers that all good things may be given to the deceased. The genealogy of the deceased is given by the inscription on the front of the coffin thus:—



From this we learn that the deceased Nes-Âmes held the dignity of , *s-ut'ch*, and was second prophet of Âmes, and prophet of Chonsu; his mother was sistrum bearer of Âmes, and for five generations back his ancestors had held the same priestly dignity as himself; but how to translate  I know not. The mother's name is written elsewhere , and . His father's name is also written  in several places on the coffin.

The coffin was found at Akhmîm, the ancient , the capital of the Panoplite nome, and belongs probably to the third century before Christ.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 6th April, 1886, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read :—

I.—P. LE PAGE RENOUF :—"The Myth of Osiris Unnefer."

II.—Dr. S. LOUIS :—"Ancient Traditions of Supernatural Voices." (Bath-Kol.)

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Botta, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
Place, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866–1869. 3 vols., folio.
Brugsch-Bey, Grammaire Démotique. 1 vol., folio.
———— Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
———— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
Dümichen, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
———— 2nd series, 1869.
———— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1866.
———— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
Golenischeff, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
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Chabas, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, II, III. 1862–1873.
———— Voyage d'un Egyptien en Syrie, en Phénicie, &c. 4to. 1867.
———— Le Calendrier des Jours Fastes et Néfastes de l'année Égyptienne. 8vo. 1877.
Maspero, Du genre épistolaire chez les Égyptiens de l'époque Phraonique. 8vo. Paris, 1872.
———— De Carchemis oppidi Situ et Historia Antiquissimâ. 8vo. Paris, 1872.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

SIXTEENTH SESSION, 1885-86.

Sixth Meeting, 6th April, 1886.

WALTER MORRISON, Esq., President,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Royal Society : — The Proceedings. Vol. XXXIX. No. 241. December, 1885. 8vo. London.

From the Society of Antiquaries :—The Proceedings. November 27, 1884, to July 2, 1885. Second Series, Vol. X, No. 3. 8vo. London. 1886.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects :—The Journal of Proceedings. Vol. II, New Series. No. 9. Supplement [Special Number]. Nos. 10 and 11. 18th February, 1886. No. 12. 1st April. 4to. London.

From the Royal Geographical Society : —The Proceedings. Vol. VIII. March. No. 3 and No. 4. April, 1886. 8vo.

From the Northern Society of Antiquaries :—Aarboger, 1886. II Række, I Bind, I Hefte. 8vo. Copenhagen.

From the Editor :—The American Journal of Philology. Edited by Basil L. Gildersleve. Vol. VI, 4. Whole No. 24. 8vo. Baltimore. 1885.

From the Editor : — The Johns Hopkins University Studies. Fourth Series. II. Town Government in Rhode Island. By W. E. Foster. III. The Narragansett Planters. By Edward Channing. 8vo. Baltimore. 1886.

From the Author :—Das aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII bis XX Dynastie aus verschiedenen urkunden. Von Edouard Naville. 2 vols. Folio. Berlin, 1886.

From Dr. Ludwig Stern :—Another copy, title as above.

From Miss Adair :—Du genre épistolaire chez les anciens Égyptiens Par E. Maspero. 8vo. Paris, 1872.

From the Author :—A Review of the various Theories respecting the Form and Style of Architecture of the Temple of Solomon. By E. C. Robins, F.S.A. 8vo. London. 1886.

From A. Cates :—Another copy of the same.

From the Author :—William N. Groff. Lettre à M. Revillout sur le Nom de Jacob et de Joseph en égyptien. Folio. 1885. Extrait du 4e Vol., Fasc. I–II, *Revue égyptologique.*

From the Author :—Eine Stele des Königs Ra-Sechem-Ka. By Dr. Alfred Wiedemann. Folio. 1885.

From the Author :—Mittelaegyptische Bibelfragmente. By O. V. Lemm. Folio. 1885.

A special vote of thanks was awarded to M. Naville and Dr. Stern for their donations.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated 2nd March, 1886 :—

Rev. James George Kitchin, 4, Heathfield Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.

Rev. William L. Lawson, Abinger House, Abbey Road, N.W.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on 4th May :—

James E. Rogers, Sale Creek, Hamilton Co., Penn., U.S.A.

Miss Eliza Shaw, Broadstairs, Isle of Thanet.

Rev. Thos. Hamilton, M.A., Brookvale House, Antrim Road, Belfast.

Morris Jastrow, jun., Ph.D., 295, No. 8th Street, Philadelphia, Penn., U.S.A.

Mr. P. le Page Renouf read a Paper, "The Myth of Osiris Unnefer."

This paper is intended to throw fresh light upon an interesting question of comparative mythology.

"From the remotest wilds of the North-West to the coast of the Atlantic, from the southern boundaries of Carolina to the cheerless swamps of Hudson Bay, the Algonkins were never tired of gathering round the winter fire and repeating the story of Manibogho or Michabo, 'the Great Hare,'" the impersonation of Light, a hero of the Dawn, and the highest deity of these tribes, who attributed to him the foundation of their religion and all the elements of their civilization.

Why should Light or the Sun be personified by a Hare? Is it a case of Totemism? and, if so, why should Totemism take this form? Or is it a fact that savages look upon the sun with quite different eyes from other people—that they think it is a man, or a beast, or a bird? Or, as another set of philosophers would suppose, was there in olden times an energetic personage of the name of Hare, who rendered great services either in peace or war to his fellow savages, and was in process of time deified by them, and whose exploits were perhaps confounded with those performed by other remarkable persons whose names were identical with his, or have been lost in the course of ages?

No attempt will be made here at a direct refutation of solutions such as these. It will however be shown that the ancient Egyptians had myths very similar to that of the Michabo of the Algonkins, and that our knowledge of the Egyptian language enables us to see clearly into the origin of these myths, and also to see how utterly futile all speculation on the subject must be in the absence of such data as the Egyptian language alone can supply.

Osiris is one of the chief gods of Egyptian mythology. That he is identical with the sun is no mere inference of modern scholars; the identity is asserted in a vast number of authoritative texts.

"Hail to thee, Osiris, thou who art the first-born son of Seb, the eldest of the five gods who proceed from Nut, the mighty first-born of his father; *Rā, the father of the fathers*, who are subject to him, the eternal king, the everlasting lord; I come to *thee*, Osiris," etc.

"Rā Osiris Unnefer, the triumphant, the king of the gods, the mighty Disk whose rays give light." "He showers down light upon

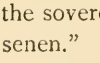
the earth at his rising." He is frequently called "the king in heaven, the great one upon earth, the mighty sovereign in the nether world."

Among the many names given to him are  *uā*, "the one," or  *neb uā*, "only Lord;" and under the first of these he is invoked in the second chapter of the Book of the Dead as "shining from the moon;" a remarkable proof, to which I have already called attention, that at a very early date the Egyptians knew that the moon derived its light from the sun. The best illustration of this ancient text is the picture at Karnak of all the principal gods in adoration of Osiris, who is represented as standing in the moon-disk with the sceptre in his hand and the royal crown upon his head. Over him is written his kingly name Unnefer.

The benefits conferred upon the earth and upon mankind are sung in hymns, many of which are still extant, and the euhemerizing Greeks, as we see in Plutarch or Diodoros, derived from them the tales which recent writers on mythology call "culture myths." But in the original Egyptian texts it is distinctly to Osiris as the Sun, and not to a deified king, that all the benefits are ascribed.

Osiris was worshipped under many names, and forms corresponding to these names. The Book of the Dead contains a chapter, the 142nd, which gives a list of some of them, two of which I shall now discuss. The first will not detain us long, but it will enable us to see our way towards the interpretation of the second.

In some of the most ancient localities of Egypt, such as Tattu (the Mendes of the Greeks), and Suten-senen (Hermopolis Magna), Osiris was represented by his worshippers under the symbol of a Ram, or Ram-headed personage; οὔτι τοιοῦτον νομίζοντες εἶναι μιν, as Herodotos very justly observes. He was called the "Lord of Tattu," the "Ram Lord of Tattu," "Her-šefit, the Ram Lord of Tattu," "Rā, Her-šefit, Lord of Tattu," "Her-šefit, the king of the universe, the sovereign of the earth, the god of all the gods who are in Suten-senen." He is the god in the Oasis whom the Greeks called Zeus Ammon. But why should the Egyptians represent Osiris, or the Sun, under the symbol of a Ram, when, as the Greek historian says, they never thought that he was anything of the kind?

On examining the hymns written in honour of Osiris certain epithets will be found in constant association with him. He is  *āa šefit*,  *neb sent*, and  *āa nerau*,

'most mighty,' 'lord of fear,' and 'most terrible.' The first of these epithets is the most interesting for us, for the first meaning of  *šefit* is 'force, power, might,' and it has also the derivative meaning of Ram, namely, 'the powerful one.'

It is a constant fact in the history of languages that the name of an object is derived from *one* of its attributes, and the reason why this fact is not more generally recognized is that the languages we speak have undergone many changes since the time when the names first came into use. The meanings of 'red-breast' and 'fly' (the German *Fliege*) are obvious; not so those of the French *mouche*, the Latin *musca*, the Greek μυῖα, which have to be sought with some trouble. Our word 'mouse,' the Latin *mus*, the Greek μῦς, the Sclavonic *myši*, convey no notion of the original sense, 'thief,' which is preserved in the Sanskrit *mûshikas* (from the root *mush*), which signifies both 'mouse' and 'thief.' When the ancient Egyptians gave the name *šefit* to the ram, they thought of the powerful action exercised by his head, which has led more modern nations to give the name of *ram* to instruments of powerful energy. The symbolism of the Ram as applied to Osiris as the Sun is founded upon the double sense of the word *šefit*. And it is an instructive fact that the proper name *Her-šefit*, 'Ram-faced' (the αἰγοπρόσωπος of Herodotos), which is found in the later copies of the Book of the Dead, does not occur in the older copies; the ancient reading is *âa šefit*, 'most powerful.'

The explanation of the Ram-headed god will enable us more readily to understand the symbolism of another form of Osiris. A Hare-headed divinity is seen in the temple of Dendera, seated upon an invisible throne, wrapped in mummy clothing, and with the two arms and hands in the position for holding the crook and flail, characteristic of Osiris. The same Hare-headed god appears in the usual vignettes of the 146th chapter of the Book of the Dead, but here the throne is visible, and the hands hold knives. There is also a Hare-headed goddess in a picture at Dendera whose name is "*Unnut*, the mistress of the city *Unnut* and Dendera." The city Unnut was the metropolis of the 15th nome of Upper Egypt, that of the Hare  *Un*, called by the Greeks Hermopolites. The male divinity would be called *Un*, or *Unnu*, even when the final vowel is omitted in writing.

Such a divinity is mentioned at the opening of the 17th chapter of the Book of the Dead.

"I am Tmu as *Unn* ; I am One and only; I am Rā in his first risings."

And in the glosses upon this passage it is spoken of, of "the sovereignty which Rā exercised as *Unn*," when as yet there was no firmament.

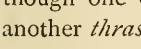
The opening of the 17th chapter has long been recognized as corrupt. I believe the corruption to have arisen in great part from the frequent absence of determinatives in the early texts. Both the Turin papyrus, published by Lepsius, and the Cadet papyrus write  *Unn*, with the determinative of a god. They are borne out in this by one of the texts of the early empire, the first Mentuhotep sarcophagus. The other texts of the oldest period omit the determinative or use the sign , whence the Rituals of the XVIIIth dynasty have derived a text which does not admit of translation if we give the meaning of *being* to *unn*. The translations which have hitherto been offered of this opening cannot possibly be justified grammatically. But if be the name of a god, the whole passage is not only easy in grammatical construction, but perfectly intelligible.

What, however, it may be asked, do we know of such a god? My answer is, that Unnefer, or rather Unnu-neferu, as a proper name, bears the same relation to Unnu that Rā-neferu, Hor-neferu, Ptah-neferu, Amen-neferu, Sebak-neferu, Ames-neferu bear to Rā, Horus, Ptah, Amen, Sebak, and Ames. Unnu is the real name, of which Unnu-neferu is a compound.

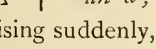
The usual interpretation of the name Unnefer, which has been current since Champollion, is manifestly erroneous. Mythology does not deal with such names as "good being." "Being" is much too metaphysical, and "good" much too ethical a notion for names of this kind. A physical sense is the only one admissible.  *nefer* primarily means *fair*, *beautiful*, and only secondarily *good*.  *neferu*, are the graces, the beauty, the brightness, the glory of a god. Unnu-neferu signifies "the splendid or glorious Hare." This is at least a signification which in the abstract admits of no contradiction. The question is, what is meant by Hare

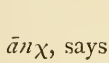
when applied to Osiris or the Sun, and it is a question which can only be solved by an inquiry into the original sense of the Egyptian word signifying Hare.

Now there is a variety of Egyptian words of which the syllable  *un*, sometimes written  is the essential part, and one and the same radical notion underlies the signification of them all; though one of them means *a hare*, another *an hour*, another *open*, another *thrash*, another *transgress* or *overleap*, and the most frequent of all is the very colourless auxiliary verb which we translate 'being.'

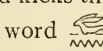
This fundamental notion is *up*, *rise*, *spring up*, *start up*.  *un ā;* 'up with the hand,' expresses the act of the hand rising suddenly, either in adoration of a god, or in the assault of an enemy.

"There springeth up to us life," *un-nen ānχ*, says a hymn in the Bremner papyrus.

"Herbs and trees spring up  *ḥer unun*, at thy presence," sings the poet of the Disk worshippers.

If too heavy a weight be placed in one of the scales of a balance, the other, as Milton says, "quick upflies and kicks the beam." This 'upflying' is expressed in Egyptian by the word  *un*, ina well-known phrase of the Book of the Dead, *un em māχait*, the upflying or levity in the balance when Law is placed in one of the scales and the heart or conscience in the other.

The connection between the notion of springing up and  *un*, 'open,' will be obvious to all who know that our English word open is only the verbal form of 'up,' or who compares the German 'auf' and 'auf-machen.'

Unnu, the appellative of 'a hare,' signifies 'a springer,' 'a leaper,' like the Sanskrit *çaça*, our word *hare* and the Anglo-Saxon *hara*. The Greek λαγῶς has much the same meaning.  *unnut*, 'an hour or moment,' is identical with the word meaning 'she-hare,' and like it signifies 'leaper.' Our own poets speak of the fleeting hours—"hora agilis, præceps, fugitiva." In Shelley's *Prometheus* "The Hours were hounds, which chased the day like a wounded deer."

But what shall we say of the auxiliary verb *un?* Is not Being a conception prior to all others? It may be so in metaphysics, but it certainly is not so in the history of Language. The fact that *un*

is an auxiliary verb, and signifies 'being,' is the very reason why we should look out for the physical sense originally attached to it. All auxiliary verbs in Egyptian, as well as in other languages, had originally a physical meaning.

The language now spoken by the inhabitants of Egypt, the Arabic, has a verb قام *qāma*, which is used very much in the same way as the old Egyptian *un*. The old Egyptian says, *Un ân suten her t'etu nef* "the king said to him;" the modern fellah says, *qām el mālik qal-loh*, literally, "the king rose (and) said to him." It is not intended to imply any actual rising on the part of the subject of the verb: *qām qa'ad*, means 'he sat down;' *qāmet el'bint nâmet*, 'the girl lay down,' literally 'rose and sat,' 'rose and lay down.' 'He thought to himself' is translated by 'he rose and said in his soul.'

The same kind of idiom is common in Hebrew and other Semitic languages. The word 'rise' is perpetually used in the Old Testament without any intentional reference to the act of getting up: 'rise and go down,' 'rise and cry,' 'rise and eat,' 'rise and sit.'

And like the Egyptian *un*, the Semitic verb derives the meanings of being, existing, persisting.

It is now, I trust, clear enough why *Unn* or *Unnu* should be an appropriate appellation of the rising Sun, who springs forth in glory and triumph. The opening of the 17th chapter of the Book of the Dead is no longer obscure, "I am Tmu as Unnu." Tmu the Closer, is the name given to the setting sun. Unnu is the title of the rising sun. "I am One and one only. I am Rā in his first risings." And when there was as yet no firmament Rā exercised his sovereignty as Unnu, for upon his rising earth and sky, which had been confounded in darkness, were divided, and the firmament appeared.

The more usual name, Unnuneferu, as applied to Osiris, is distinctly a kingly one, and in the great temples of Dendera and Edfu is commonly surrounded with the royal ring. It is also commonly followed by the word *māaχeru*, which it is quite a mistake to translate 'the departed' or 'le véridique.' It is applied to 'the departed' because they are identified with Osiris, but in the case of Osiris it does not apply to his death, but to his triumphant resurrection.

Remarks were added by Rev. A. Löwy, Rev. Basil Cooper, Rev. J. Marshall, and the President.

Dr. S. Louis read a paper, entitled, "Ancient Traditions of Supernatural Voices" (*Bath-Kol*).

The subject of this paper—the consideration of supernatural voices—belongs to the chapter of ancient folk-lore which prevailed in Judæa in the centuries immediately preceding, and those immediately following, the birth of Christ, and is capable of throwing an interesting light on the state of mental and psychological development of the people and the age under review.

Some introductory remarks were made as to the meaning of the words *Bath-Kol* (daughter of voice), the expression by which these supernatural voices are always designated in the Jewish writings.

In the two redactions of the Talmud (the Babylonian, and that of Jerusalem) there occur eighty-six passages in which the term *Bath-Kol* is mentioned; nineteen of these are, however, mere repetitions.

For convenience of classification, the author divided these passages into six different groups, according to their import.

The first group consists of two *Bath-Kols*, which are reported to have decided between learned disputants. The passage relating to the colleges of Hillel and Shamai (Erubin, 13 *b*) was cited, and some particulars were given of these two rival colleges. Another passage (Baba Metzia, 59 *b*) was quoted, where a *Bath-Kol* decided in favour of R. Elieser ben Hyrkanos. In these two instances according to Gfroerer, the *Bath-Kol* undertook the same function as was attributed to the Holy Ghost in the Councils of the Catholic Church, when heresies were being judged.

The second group comprises two *Bath-Kols* reported to have proceeded from the Holy of Holies, and to have been heard by the High Priest for the time being (Sota, 33 *a*). These voices were characterised as reflecting the thoughts which occupied the minds of the individuals in moments of intense agitation.

In the third group were placed those passages which have reference to martyrdom. The legend relating to the death of Chanina ben Tradjon (Abodah Sarah, 18 *a*), and that relating to the death of R. Akiba (Berachoth, 61 *b*) were cited, and some others briefly referred to. In these legends, the *Bath-Kol* served tne double purpose of expressing a high sense of admiration for the

constancy of faith displayed by martyrs, and of supplying a pathetic ending to a tragic narrative.

The next group is made up of passages which have reference to eminent personages, and in which the *Bath-Kol* represents the *emphatic* expression of a current opinion. Among others was cited the passage (Megillah, 3 *a*) referring to the well-known paraphrast of the books of the Prophets, Jonathan ben Usiel, and inferences were drawn as to the opinions illustrated by this legend.

The fifth group of *Bath-Kols* consists of passages having the character of parables. A passage from the Talmud (Gittin 56 *b*), treating of the Roman general Titus Vespasianus, furnished an example of this class, and it was shown what moral maxim was emphasized by the story.

The last group comprises a large number of passages where the *Bath-Kol* served as a more or less ingenious exposition of a biblical verse for homiletic purposes. These particular voices could never have been objects of popular belief, nor could it have been intended by the speakers that they should be believed. Two specimens were given, one being an application of Ezekiel xxii, 19, and the other of Ecclesiastes ix, 7.

The belief in supernatural voices was not confined to the Jews; several such voices are referred to by Greek authors, the most celebrated of these being the one related by Plutarch as having proclaimed the death of the great Pan. This passage was cited in full.

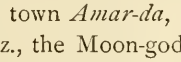
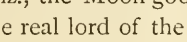
In forming an estimate of the amount of credence given to these narratives by the people of Judæa, the author came to the conclusion that many of them were believed by the populace, but that the educated classes took no heed of these voices, and the ecclesiastical authorities did certainly not ascribe a *divine origin* to them.

At the same time, a natural explanation of the belief may be found in the characteristics of the age, the country, and the nation which produced these extraordinary legends.

Remarks were added by Rev. J. Marshall and Rev. J. Harris.

Professor Hommel, of Munich, read a Paper in which he pointed out that the Babylonian Gish-ḍu-barra was to be identified with the Biblical Nimrod :—

As every Assyriologist knows, the patron god of the hero Gishdubarra, in the great Babylonian epic, which includes the story of the Flood, is called *Lugal-tur-da* (*i.e.*, Lugal-tudda, "the king having youthful strength"). The wife of this god was the goddess *Ningul*. Now this god Lugal-tudda is the same deity as *Sin*, the Moon-god, whose wife is *Nin-gal* (*gul* being only a somewhat later pronunciation of *gal*, "great"), and who is called not only *Lugalla* ("the king"), but also *amar tudda*, "the bull having youthful strength." In conformity with this is the fact, that the home of Gishdubar was the town *Amar-da*, or *Maradda*, *i.e.*, the country or site of the Bull, viz., the Moon-god. The result is, that Sin, or the Moon-god, was the real lord of the hero Gishdubar.

I shall now go on to a second observation, which is important not only for Babylonian mythology, but even more so for Old Testament history. We find in two passages of the bilingual Sumero-Semitic tablets of the Old Babylonian collection of Exorcisms (W.A.I., IV, pl. 2, 21 and 22*b*, and in the fragment, pl. 23, No. 3, lines 26 and 27 of the same vol.), the expression : "Sin, the lord of (a certain) Namra-ṣit." Without further proofs it would be a mere hypothesis *to identify this Namra-ṣit*, very similar in sound to the Biblical Nimrod, *with our hero Gishdubar*, though the lord or god of both of them is the Moon-god. But I have now full evidence that this identification is the only true one, because it is shown by the non-Semitic writing of the name Namra-ṣit in the bilingual passages quoted above. The Sumerian here has , which is nothing else than a kind of rebus for *Gi-*išdu-bar-ra*, commonly written  (D.P. *Gish-ḍu-bar-ra*).

If any one should be astonished to find such rebuses in the

*  here is the same as , *gi* (the numeral for "one"); that this is right is proved by a passage of the Gudia-inscriptions, which runs thus:  *mu-da-ag-* . If, therefore, the numeral had the value *gi* (shortened from *gish*), this value must also be accepted for the other writing of this numeral, for .

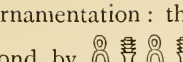
exorcisms, which are the oldest of the Sumerian texts,* it must be remembered that the passage in question is a later insertion, as I have already shown in the first part of my "Semitische Völker und Sprachen," p. 366, though I had not, at the time, found out this rebus, thinking then, for other reasons, that the passage was later than the original incantation in which it occurs.

P.S.—After this was printed, M. A. Amiaud of Paris writes me: "Votre lecture *Gi-išdu-bar-ra* me paraît éminemment curieuse, mais plutôt que de prendre la lecture assyrienne *išdu*, pourquoi ne pas lire *giš-du-bar-ra?* Aucune difficulté pour ⌐ *gi* = *giš*; et 𒄑𒂍 est certainement un signe formé de 𒄑 = *du*" (*ara-dubu-gunu*, as the terminology of the sign-lists would say in this case). In addition, I should like to remark that the first who directed the attention upon *Namra-ṣit* (but as a mere analogy to Gish-dubarra = Nimrod), was Professor Delitzsch. (Comp. my note in *Zeitschr. f. Keilschr.*, Vol. II, p. 105.)

The following Communication has been received from Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge:—

Among the many interesting objects which have lately been found at Echmîm, are some sepulchral boxes, which deserve notice on account of their style of ornamentation, &c. A box of this class was sent from Luxor to Mr. L. W. Engelbach, C.B., who informs me that General Sir Evelyn Wood possesses another, similar to his in form and appearance. Mr. Engelbach's box is 27 inches long, by $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the bottom, and 26 inches high; each side tapers slightly towards the top, and is in the shape of a pylon. The outside of the cornice is hollowed out, and is ornamented with yellow, black and red lines upon an originally white ground. Immediately beneath it, and running round three sides of the box, are

* In the Neo-Sumerian, or so-called *imisat* texts, they occur rather often, being explained by Semitic influence on the Sumerian writers of this time, the centuries before and after the old Babylonian king Hammuragash.

two rows of ornamentation: the first is formed by  and the second by  repeated several times. Beneath each is a row of five-rayed stars ★★★★★. On the front of the box the design is different, and consists of  with eight uræi with disks , , facing each side, and a disk winged with two uræi , repeated once. Beneath these lines is a figure of a hawk standing upon a square pedestal, before which is an altar with offerings; behind him is . On the right-hand side, facing the hawk, is Thoth with both hands raised, pouring out a libation; and on the left side is a hawk-headed deity with both hands raised, also pouring out a libation. On the back of the box is a figure of a hawk with extended wings, and wearing a disk with uræus upon his head; on each side is a sceptre with the feather .

On the right-hand side of the box is a figure of the deceased, kneeling, having his left hand raised. He wears a green crown, collar, armlets and tunic, and above his head are two cartouches . Behind him are three jackal-headed spirits, each having his left hand raised, while his right is clenched and laid upon his stomach. On the left-hand side of the box the deceased is represented in the same attitude, and behind him are three hawk-headed spirits. These six spirits or deities are mentioned in the 111th and 112th chapters of the Book of the Dead, and were known by the name of *Ammu*. The hawk-headed were called Horus, Âmset, and Ḥâpi, and the jackal-headed were called Horus, Ṭûaumutef, and Kebḥsenf. They are figured by Lanzone in his *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, Plate XXVI, and described on pp. 56 and 57 of the same work. For further notices of them, see the authorities quoted by him there. What use these boxes were put to the late Dr. Birch was unable to say, and this question is rendered the more difficult by the fact that in each side of the box are two pairs of rectangular openings about six inches from each end. Mr. F. G. Hilton-Price* has in his possession two boxes of similar shape and

* I understand from this gentleman that he intends to describe these with the rest of his collection from Echmîm, at an early date.

design, but smaller; they have the same shaped openings in the same parts of the sides, and in one of them is a piece of rope which was fixed or tied there in ancient days. The original bottom of Mr. Engelbach's box has disappeared, but its place is taken by three planks from other boxes of like shape and pattern, which have been nailed on at a recent date.

The following Communication has been received from Dr. J. Oppert :—

My Dear Mr. Rylands, Paris, *February* 28, 1886.

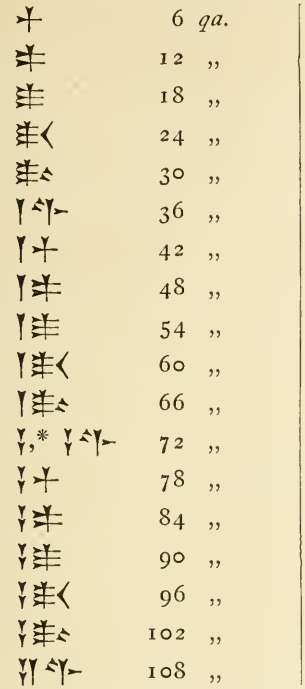
I lay before the *Society of Biblical Archæology* the deciphering of the numeral signs occurring in the juridical and commercial texts written in cuneiform characters. The deeds contain a great many of these figures, which hitherto had been considered as measures; only now we are enabled to understand and to control the accounts found in these legal documents. This discovery, which I made lately, and which modifies some of my formerly expressed views, is, I dare say, the most important one in cuneiform deciphering since the late George Smith found the signs rendering the fractions.

There are only six measures and characters expressing volumes of capacity. I have already published in the *Journal asiatique* of 1880 the proportion of a few of these measures which are to be maintained; the two others, the *homer* and the *ap*, originally *epha*, have only been determined subsequently to the discovery of the figures.

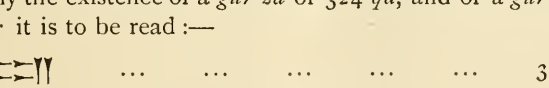
The measures are the following ones :—

,	*saḫia*	...	...	...		1	
,	*qa*	...	...	...		10	*saḫia.*
,	*ap*	...	...	27	*qa*	270	,,
,	*pi*	...	...	36	,,	360	,,
,	*imer*	...	...	60	,,	600	,,
,	*gur*	...	...	180	,,	1,800	,,

The other signs are figures denoting the number of the *qa* and the *pi*, progressing by 6 *qa* or 60 *saḫia*. Here are the values :—



The proportions of the *saḫia*, *qa*, *pi* and *gur* have been made out in my paper of the *Journal asiatique*. I translated a text now published in the fifth volume of the British Museum series, and I fixed the numbers by the prices, but I was misled just by the true results. The total is really, to give an example, 4,320 *qa*, which forms the addition of 360, 334 and 3,626 *qa*. But I supposed wrongly the existence of a *gur za* of 324 *qa*, and of a *gur as* of 1,807 *saḫia;* it is to be read :—



* Very often wrongly made , but never frankly .

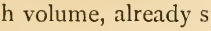
A most curious and concluding example is the other great text of the fifth volume, already spoken of, in 1880.

The total is :—

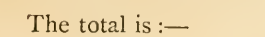
 (9,000 + 540 + 50) = 9,590 *saḥia.*

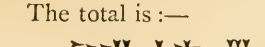
The first field contains :—

Of the first kind : *saḥia* (1,140 + 5) = 1,145 *saḥia.*

Of the second kind :  *qa*, 8 *saḥia* (60 + 40 + 8) = 108 „

The second field contains :—

Of the first kind :  *qa*, 7 *saḥia* (5,400 + 100 + 7) = 5,507 „

Of the second kind :  (1,800 + 1,020 + 10) = 2,830 „

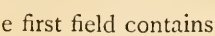
The total is indeed 9,590 „

which are consisting of the first kind 1,145 + 5,507 = 6,652, payed 1,108 $\frac{2}{5}$ drachmas at 6 *saḥia* the drachma : or $1{,}108\frac{2}{3} \times 6 = 6{,}652$,

Expressed by :—

 *saḥia* (5,400 + 1,200 + 52) = 6,652 *saḥia.*

Of the second kind (108 + 2,830) = 2,938 „

payed 49 drachmas,  (60 *saḥia*) the drachma :

$49 \times 60 = 2{,}940$, exactly $48\frac{2}{3}\frac{9}{0}$ drachma.

Expressed by :—

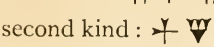
 qa, 8 *saḥia* :

1,800 + 1,080 + 58 = 2,938.

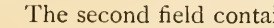
Total = 9,590 „

In another unpublished document now in the British Museum, the number of the *saḥia* can be determined by the price of $250\frac{2}{3}$ drachmas, $3\frac{3}{4}$ *saḥia* one drachma, which gives 940.

We read :—

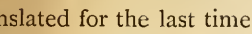
 (840 + 30 + 1) ... = 871 *saḥia.*

 (60 + 8 *saḥia*) = 68 „

Sum :  (900 + 30 + 9) = 939 „

In the curious text of W.A.I., Vol. III, pl. 41, lines 21, 22, which I translated for the last time in the "Records of the Past," Vol. IX, p. 105; we read:—


... ... 137 *silver.*


... 16 „

which only now is to be understood; it means:—

822 (30 × 27 + 12) *qa* of corn, the *iz-bar* containing 12 *qa* 137 *silver.*

96 *qa* of oil, the *iz-bar* containing 6 *qa* ... 16 „

We see that 822 and 96 are both 6 times 137 and 16; in both cases 6 *qa* were paid 1 silver, but the *qa* were different. In the first case, the *iz-bar* or *span* cube (4, 4-imperial gallons, 20 litres), contained 12 *qa* or *cabs*, which probably was "the *qa* of the king of Babylon"; in the second instance, it was three times more, and therefore the Hebrew liquid *homer* was equal to the *kor*.

The *qa* can be hardly the *epha;* at Nineveh the *qa* was the 9th or the 10th part of the span cube; the common Babylonian was very likely the 18th part; the *pi* was the double *epha*, and the *gur* the Hebrew *kor*.

The *bit qa* or field sown by a *qa* was almost 300 square  *u*,* which was the unity of field. Houses were generally measured by the architect's cane (Ezekiel, xl, 5) of 7 *u*, each *u* of 24 inches. The architect's surface unity was the *square cane*, two square canes made a *sa;* and the *square cane* itself was not subdivided in 49 square *u* and 28,224 square inches, but in 7 rectangular *u* and 168 rectangular inches, each of which had the constant height of one cane. The survey tablets give the highest idea of the skill of Babylonian geometers, who must have calculated with figures consisting of six and seven of our numbers.

The following Communication has been received:—

Barton-on-Humber,
March 3, 1886.

Dear Mr. Rylands,

As everything connected with the Hittites is now of interest, perhaps the following remarks may be so:

Priam, Memnôn and Teutamos.—Diodôros says, "There chances

* What was this U? I fancy it was the double foot $0^{m}\cdot648$, $\frac{12}{5}$ of the *U* of Gudea, very nearly 26 inches.

to be a record of the sending by the Assyrians[1] to the Trojans of succour (*συμμαχία*), of which (force) Memnôn[2] was the commander. For when Teutamos[3] was king of Asia—he was the 20th from Ninyas, the son of Semiramis—they say that the Hellenes marched to Troy, at a time when the Assyrians had been the leading power of Asia more than 1000 years;[4] and that Priamos, who reigned over the Troad, being oppressed by the war, and being subject[5] to the king of the Assyrians, sent ambassadors to him for help; and that Teutamos sent him 10,000 Ethiopians[6] (*Αἰθίοπας*), and as many Susians (*Σουσιανοὺς*), with 200 chariots,[7] and placed over them as general Memnôn." He adds that Memnôn had "built a palace at the citadel in Susa, which remained until the rule of the Persians, and was called from him Memnonian;"[8] and that he also made a famous "thoroughfare through the country,"[9] which road was still called after him (Diod., ii, 22).[10]

Yours faithfully,

Robt. Brown, Junior.

[1] Corrigez, 'Syrians,' *i.e.*, "White Syrians," = Hittites (Cf. *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, VII, 283).

[2] *Cf.* the Susian god Umman, whose name reminds us of Omanos, a god whose cult obtained in Kappadokia even in the time of Strabo (XV, iii, 15).

[3] *Cf.* the Hittite Tutamu (vide *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, VII, 289), chief of the Patinai. Another Teutamos appears in the *Iliad* (ii, 843) as grandsire of one of the Asiatic allies of Priam; and the name is also in the list of Assyrian kings given by Ktêsias.

[4] The Hittites were a formidable power as early as B.C. 1900 (vide *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, VII, 269).

[5] This dependent position of Priam is exactly what might be expected in connection with "the Empire of the Hittites."

[6] Kassites.

[7] A familiar Hittite feature.

[8] Dr. Oppert remarks, "It is possible that *Umman Amman*, "House of the god Amman," was corrupted by the Greeks to Memnonian, the great edifice of Susa" (*Records of the Past*, VII, 83).

[9] *Cf.* the Hittite highroads.

[10] The leading feature in the account is a Hittite Overlord, in close accord with Susians (Kassites), assisting his vassal in the far West. The Kassite dynasty ruled at Babylon until B.C. 1270 (Sayce, *Herodotos*, 372), and Hittite art and culture is mainly Babylonian, which implies a friendly intercourse. On the other hand, the Hittites were engaged in constant war with the Assyrians.

The following Communication has been received from the Rev. C. J. Ball :—

15, Chalcot Gardens, N.W.,
March 31st, 1886.

The question whether anything which can properly be designated metre, is discernible in the remains of ancient Hebrew poetry, has often been debated, from the time of Francis Gomarus and Ludovicus Capellus (flor. 1633), down to the present day. Modern scholars have, for the most part, been content to point out the principle of Parallelism of Members, which undoubtedly characterizes the best specimens of Hebrew lyric verse; and the strophic arrangement, which is sometimes conspicuous by its presence, and sometimes by its absence.

An examination of certain typical examples has convinced me that a syllabic, as distinct from a quantitative system of metre, was not unknown to ancient Israel. The Pentesyllables of the Gnostic Bardaisan (Bardesanes), who wrote 150 hymns in Syriac, towards the end of the second century A.D., and the Hexasyllables, Heptasyllables, Octosyllables, and Dodecasyllables of S. Ephrem (A.D. 330), and other Syriac Fathers, furnish a modern analogy.

I began my scrutiny of the following piece—David's famous Elegy upon the Death of Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i, 19, *sqq.*)—with a strong feeling, based upon *à priori* considerations, and fortified by Dr. G. Baur's philosophical article, *Dichtkunst*, in Riehm's "Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums" (Leipzig, 1884), that it was vain to look for formal regularity of a metrical nature in a lyric effusion of the end of the eleventh century B.C. Even the strophic arrangement appeared uncertain, judging by the diversity of prevalent opinion. This, however, is what I found. I give the poem metrically arranged; reserving a few necessary explanations for the close of this communication.

2 Sam. 1, 19–27.

2. 4. 4. 3. 3. 3. 2. 4. 2.

1. Haççabi | Yisra'el | ʿal bamo | thaik ḫalal |
 'Aik naf'lu | gibborim ! |
2. 'Al taggi | du baGath |
 'Al tabass | 'ru b'ḫuçoth | Ashqalon |
 Pen tismaḫ | na banoth | Pilishtim |
 Pen ta'loz | na banoth | ha'relim |

3. Harê bag | Gilba' 'al | yered ṭal |
 Wal maṭar | 'alaikem | was'irim |
 Ki sham nig | 'al magen | gibborim |
 Magen Sha | 'ul b'li ma | shûḫ bashshamn |
4. Middam ḫ'la | lim meḫelb | gibborim |.
 Qasht Yona | than lo' na | sog aḫor |
 Waḫarb Sha | 'ul lo' ta | shub reqam |
5. Sha'ul wa | Yonathan | hanneh'bim | wann'imim |
 Baḫayye | hem wa ba | motham lo' | nifradu |
 Minnasha | rim qallu | me'rayoth | gaberu. |
6. Banoth Yis | ra'el Sha | 'ul bakain |
 Hammalbish | ken shani | 'im 'ad'nim |
 Hamma'le(h) | 'di zaḫab 'al | lĕbushken |
7. 'Aik naf'lu | gibborim | bathok ham | milḫama |
 Yonathan | 'al bamo | thaik ḫalal |
8. Çar li 'a | laik 'aḫi | (Yonathan) |
 Na'amta | li ma'ôd |
 Niflath 'ah | bathka li |
 Me'aha | bath nashim |
9. A'ik naf'lu | gibborim ·
 Wayyoba | du kilê | milḫama ! |

It will be seen that the poem consists of nine stanzas (3×3); and is written in a metre of trisyllabic feet. There may be six, nine, or twelve syllables in a line. There is a strong tendency to complete symmetry of form in the stanzas; *e.g.*, stanza 3 contains four lines or stichi of nine syllables each; stanzas 4 and 6 contain three such lines. The number of lines in each stanza apparently accords with the following scheme: 2 . 4 . 4 . 3 . 3 . 3 . 2 . 4 . 2 . In one or two instances, I feel doubtful. Stanza 5 should perhaps be arranged in four lines, by dividing the last; and 7, 8, might be written thus :—

7. 'Aik naf'lu | gibborim |
 Bathok ham | milḫama |
8. Yonathan | Yisra'el | 'al bamo | thaik ḫalal |
 Çar li 'a | laik 'aḫi | na'amta | li ma'od |
 Niflath 'ah | bathka li | me'aha | bath nashim. |

nserting *Yisra'el* in 8, 1, to correspond with 1, 1; and omitting *Yonathan* in 8, 1 (2). Then the strophes will run as follows:—

2 . 4 . 4 . 3 . 4 . 3 . 2 . 3 . 2 .

It will be noticed that I have slightly archaized the vowel-pointing here and there; writing *ă* for Sheva *mobile*, where it really stands for that vowel. But *sheva* and *hateph* vowels may also be elided, as in 2, 2 *b'ḫuçoth;* 4, 1 *ḫ'lalim*. In *bamothaik* 1, 1 and 7, 2, and in *bakain*, 6, 1, I have elided final *a;* in the former instance, after the analogy of the Syriac; in the latter, after that of such forms as *shemà'an* for *shemà'na*. But 6, 1 might be scanned,

B'noth Yisra | 'el Sha'ul | bakaina |

I have omitted the preposition *'el*, or rather *'al* (some MSS., old versions, and Talmuds); as not essential to the sense. With it the line might be read :—

B'noth Yisra | 'el 'al Sha | 'ul bakain | .

In 3, 1, I have supplied *yered*, from the LXX, καταβάτω (so Targ.); and in 3, 2 I have read *was'irim*, "and showers," a term parallel to *maṭar* in Deut. xxxii, 2, and letter for letter the same as *washa'rê maut*, which is indicated by the θυραι θανατων of some MSS. of the LXX. The final *wt* may have crept in from the margin; some transcriber having suggested the ending *-oth* for *-im* (*i.e.*, *was'iroth*, "and she-goats," for *was'irim*, which he did not understand). Wellhausen's *harê maut*, "ye mountains of death!" though forcible to a modern ear, is less appropriate, but would scan equally well. *Sha'rê maut*, "gates of death," would also scan, and is at least as poetical: Ps. ix, 13. The Targum seems to point *wĕshaddê tĕrumoth*, "and what is enough for heave-offerings."

Synaeresis, so common in Syriac verse, seems necessary in 6, 3, which might be read :—

Hamma'le'di | zâb'al | labushken.

The disappearance of *'alef* between two vowels, and their ensuing contraction, in *hanneh'bim*, *merayoth*, hardly calls for remark. Lastly, I have omitted *pathah furtivum* (3, 1) which the Babylonian Jews did not recognize; and written all Segholate forms as monosyllables, which is undoubtedly correct.

C. J. Ball.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 4th May, 1886, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read :—

E. A. W. Budge, M.A. :—"On a Coptic Version of an Encomium on Elijah the Tishbite, attributed to Saint John Chrysostom."

Rev. Charles J. Ball :—"Some Notes on the Metres of David."



THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Botta, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
Place, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866–1869. 3 vols., folio.
Brugsch-Bey, Grammaire Démotique. 1 vol., folio.
———— Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
———— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
Dümichen, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
———————————— 2nd series, 1869.
———— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1866.
———————————— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
Golenischeff, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
Lepsius, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
De Rougé, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
Wright, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.
Schroeder, Die Phönizische Sprache.
Haupt, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
Schrader, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
Rawlinson, Canon, 6th and 7th Ancient Monarchies.
Pierret, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. 8vo. Paris, 1875.
Burkhardt, Eastern Travels.
Wilkinson, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824–30. (*Text only.*)
Chabas, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, II, III. 1862–1873.
———— Voyage d'un Egyptien en Syrie, en Phénicie, &c. 4to. 1867.
———— Le Calendrier des Jours Fastes et Néfastes de l'année Égyptienne. 8vo. 1877.
Maspero, De Carchemis oppidi Situ et Historia Antiquissimâ. 8vo. Paris, 1872.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

SIXTEENTH SESSION, 1885-86.

Seventh Meeting, 4th May, 1886.

REV. CANON ST. VINCENT BEECHEY

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors :—

From the Royal Society :—The Proceedings. Vol. XL. No. 242, 1886. 8vo.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects :—The Journal of Proceedings. Vol. II, New Series. No. 13. 8th April, 1886. 4to. London.

From the Royal Geographical Society : — The Proceedings. Vol. VIII. No. 5. May, 1886. 8vo.

From the Palestine Exploration Fund :—The Quarterly Statement. April, 1886. 8vo. London.

From the University :—The Johns Hopkins University Studies. Fourth Series. IV. Pennsylvania Boroughs. By William P. Holcomb. 8vo. Baltimore, April, 1886.

From the Editor:—The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Edited by Rev. Stephen D. Peet, Vol. VIII. No. 2. March, 1886. 8vo. Chicago.

From the Author:—History of Paganism in Caledonia, with an examination into the influence of Asiatic Philosophy and the gradual development of Christianity in Pictavia. By Thomas A. Wise, M.D., F.R.S.E., F.R.A.S., F.S.A., Scot., &c. 4to. London. 1884.

From the Author, M. Philippe Berger:—A Notice of the Works of MM. Perrot and Chipiez. Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité. Revue Critique, N.S. XXI. Nos. 9 et 10. Mars et 1886.

From the Author:—Amphitrite. Par M. Philippe Berger. Folio. 1886.

From the Author:—Inscription of the Royal Scribe Amenhotep, the son of Tašerepimentu, inscribed on the sarcophagus of Ānχnesrāneferâb, wife of Âhmes II, king of Egypt. By E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A. Folio. 1886.

From the Author:—A series of articles printed in the Masouda Journal, Melbourne, entitled, "The Tree of Knowledge in the Garden of Eden and the Fruit it Bore." Vol. I. 1885 and 1886.

From the Author:—On the Penitential Psalm "De Profundis." By Professor Paul Haupt, Ph.D. 8vo. Baltimore, 1885.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated 6th April, 1886:—

James E. Rogers, Sale Creek, Hamilton Co., Penn., U.S.A.

Miss Eliza Shaw, Tunbridge Wells.

Rev. Thos. Hamilton, M.A., Brookvale House, Antrim Road, Belfast.

Morris Jastrow, jun., Ph.D., 295, No. 8th Street, Philadelphia, Penn., U.S.A.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on 1st June:—

Rev. A. S. Geden, M.A., Oxon, Dalkeith, Midlothian.

Rev. Professor Biggar, Magee College, Londonderry.

John Newton, M.R.C.S.E. and L.A.C., 9, Westcliffe Road, Southport.

John Whitehead, The Esplanade, Guernsey.

Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge read a Paper, "On a Coptic version of an Encomium on Elijah the Tishbite, attributed to Saint John Chrysostom."

The manuscript containing this version of the encomium, attributed to Saint John Chrysostom,* on Elijah the Tishbite, is of fine vellum, and belongs to the tenth century of our era. It is dated in the 115th year of the era of the Martyrs, *i.e.*, A.D. 399; but this I understand to be the date of the manuscript from which that of Lord Zouche was made. It consists of 79 leaves, 10 inches by 7 inches; the headings of the works which it contains are written in red ink, and the sides of the pages containing them are ornamented with graceful floral designs and doves. The contents of the manuscript are:—

I. ⲟⲩⲉⲩⲕⲱⲙⲓⲟⲛ ⲉ ⲁⲫⲧⲓⲟⲩⲟⲩ† (*sic*) ⲉ ⲡⲓⲁ̄ⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲏⲥⲟⲥⲧⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲩ ⲁⲫⲭⲏ ⲉ̄ⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲕⲱⲥⲧⲁⲛⲧⲓⲛⲟⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ ⲉ̄ ⲡⲓⲙⲓⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲡⲓⲁ̄ⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲏ̄ⲗⲓⲁⲥ ⲡⲓⲟⲉⲥⲃⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲫⲏ ⲉ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲟⲗϥ ⲉ̄ⲡϣⲱⲓ ⲉ̄ ⲧⲫⲉ ϩⲉⲛ ϩⲁⲣⲁⲣⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ ⲭⲣⲱⲙⲁ ⲛ̄ ⲥⲟⲩ ⲉ̄ ⲙ̄ⲙ ⲡⲓⲁ̄ⲃⲟⲧ ⲧⲱⲃⲓ ϩⲉⲛ ⲟⲩϩⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲫ† ⲁ̄ⲙⲏⲛ. "The Encomium which Saint John Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople,‡ composed upon Saint Elijah the Tishbite, the mighty prophet, who was taken up to heaven in chariots of fire on the sixth day of the month Tybi,§ in the peace of God. Amen."

II. ⲟⲩⲗⲟⲩⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁ̄ⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲫⲣⲉⲙ ⲉⲃⲏ† ⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲁ-ⲙⲟⲣⲫⲟⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛ̄ⲟ̄ⲥ ⲓ̄ⲏ̄ⲥ ⲡⲭ̄ⲥ ϩⲓⲭⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲧⲱⲟⲩ

* This encomium has little in common even with the spurious homily on Elijah the prophet, printed by Montfaucon in his edition of Chrysostom's works, Paris, 1724, Vol. VI, pp. 600–603, and must be a work of another admirer of Elijah the Tishbite.

† Read ⲁⲫⲧⲁⲟⲩⲟⲩ.

‡ A.D. 398–407. He died at Comana, in Pontus, on September 14, A.D. 407, aged about 63 years. In the Coptic Church his day is celebrated on the 12th of Pachons, or July 7. I suspect that this is the Abba John referred to in the colophon of the manuscript.

§ *I.e.* January 1. The Arabs, Greeks, and Latins celebrate his day on July 20, and in the Ethiopic calendar it is December 1. See the *Acta Sanctorum*, Vol. XXXII, p. 4; and Ludolf, "Comment. in Hist. Æthiop.," p. 389, *sq.*

ⲡⲧⲉ ⲟⲁⲗⲱⲣ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲟⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲉ ⲛⲉϥⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛϩⲏⲧϥ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲉⲟⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲁ̅ⲧⲓⲟⲥ ⲏⲗⲓⲁⲥ ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ. "The discourse of Saint Ephraim concerning the Transfiguration* of our Lord Jesus Christ upon Mount Tabor, when He appeared to His disciples, and concerning Saint Elijah the prophet."

III. ⲧⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲁ̅ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁ̅ⲧⲓⲟⲥ ⲙ̅ⲙ ⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲓⲥⲁⲁⲕ, etc. "The martyrdom of the holy martyr, Father Isaac."†

The original home of the manuscript was in the library of a church dedicated to Elijah the Tishbite, to which it was presented by Father Stauros, a monk in the monastery of Abba John, the Patriarch of Alexandria. Considering the high esteem in which Elijah was held by the ascetics and monks of all denominations, it would be difficult to find a gift more acceptable to the monks of a church dedicated to Elijah, than a manuscript describing the life and deed of their patron saint, composed by two such eminent livines as John Chrysostom and Ephraim the Syrian.

Lord Zouche's manuscript contains about two-thirds of the Encomium on Elijah. After the title, there comes the introductory passage, "With what words shall I describe him, or what shall I say about him, O beloved brethren? I am afraid and greatly fear to enter upon this great work for which I seek. What I shall do I know not. I am afraid of that for which I ask, for I ask and crave to make an encomium upon the great luminary which rose and shone upon the whole world, Saint Elijah the holy Tishbite." Here there comes a break of thirty-six pages. They contained, no doubt, observations upon the wonderful life and deeds of Elijah. The second fragment of two pages begins with the account of Elijah's journey to Zarephath,‡ and ends with the widow's declaration of her absolute poverty (1 Kings, xvii, 12). A break of six pages

* For an Arabic version of this discourse, see Assemânî, "Bib. Or.," Vol. I, p. 156, No. 53; and for Carshunic, or Arabic in Syriac letters, see British Museum MS. Add. 7209, Rich., fol. 237. Rosen and Forshall, Cat., p. 3, col. 2, No. 18. The Greek version was published in the Oxford edition, edited by Thwaites, and the Latin by G. Vossius, *Ephraem Syri.*, p. 686. *See* also Tillemont, "Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Eccléś." Paris, 1702. Vol: VIII, p. 759, col. 1.

† See *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. IX, pp. 1–37.

‡ According to tradition, he met the widow in a wood south of the town of Zarephath.

comes here, and the third and important fragment begins with the account of the poor widow's son.* Following this is a narrative of Elijah going to meet Ahab, and his interview with Obadiah. The rain which followed the famine was, according to our encomium, caused by Elijah's prayer to God; and when it did come, it was so fierce that Ahab was in danger, and wept, ϩωcτε ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥ ⲉⲣ ⲕⲧⲛⲁⲓⲙⲉⲧⲓⲛ ⲛ̄ⲭⲉ ⲁ̅ⲭⲁⲃ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥⲣⲓⲁⲓ.

In the account of Elijah's contest with the priests of Baal, and the devouring of the sacrifice by fire, we are told that ⲁ̅ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲁ ⲟⲩⲱⲁ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲏⲧ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲕⲁϩⲓ ⲛ̄ ⲟ̅ ⲁⲁⲁⲁϩⲓ, "the fire ate into the ground (to a depth) of seventy cubits;" and the same vividness is used in describing Jezebel, when she heard of the death of the prophets of Baal, for "she became mad like an infuriated bear," ⲁⲥⲗⲧⲃⲓ ⲁⲁⲫⲣⲏ† ⲛ̄ ⲟⲩⲗⲁⲃⲟⲓ ⲉⲥⲗⲟⲃⲓ. The narrative is frequently interspersed with short meditations and homilies upon the facts before related; and the writer excuses† Elijah's flight from Jezebel's rage in the following words: ⲁⲕⲱⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲉⲁⲁ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲁⲁⲉⲛⲣⲓⲧ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲩⲫⲱⲧ ⲛ̄ⲭⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲓⲟⲥ ⲏⲗⲓⲁⲥ ⲁⲁ ⲡⲉⲣⲁⲁⲉⲧⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲁⲩⲫⲱⲧ ϯⲁⲧϩ ⲁⲁ ϧⲁⲁⲟⲩ ⲁⲁ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲕⲟⲥⲁⲁⲟⲥ ⲁⲁⲁⲁⲟⲛ ⲁⲁⲏ ⲧⲉⲡⲉⲧⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲱⲡⲓ‡ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲛⲁϥ ⲉⲣ ⲉⲡⲓⲑⲩⲙⲓⲁ ⲡⲉ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϧⲉⲛ ϧⲁⲁⲟⲩ ⲁⲁ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲕⲟⲥⲁⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲑⲣⲉϥⲉⲁⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲁⲁⲁⲁⲟϥ ϯⲛ ⲡⲓⲁⲧⲁⲑⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ ⲁⲧ ⲥⲁϫⲓ ⲁⲁⲁⲁⲱⲟⲩ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϥ ⲉⲣ ϩⲟϯ ⲛ̄ⲑⲟϥ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲁⲏⲡⲱⲥ ⲁⲁⲉⲡⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲡⲓϥⲱϯ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲛϥ ϩⲓⲭⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲁⲁⲓ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲓϩⲁⲃⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲁⲁ ⲡⲓⲭⲣⲱⲁ ⲉⲧⲁϥⲉⲛϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗϧⲉⲛ ⲧⲫⲉ ⲛⲉⲁⲁ ⲛⲥⲛⲟϥ ⲛ̄ ⲛⲓⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ †ⲃⲁⲁⲗ§ ⲉⲧ ⲁϥⲫⲟⲛϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲁⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ ⲉⲧⲁ ⲡⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲧ ⲉ ⲛⲓⲱϣⲏⲣⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲡⲁϩ† ⲉ ⲫ† ⲡⲗⲏⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ

* He is said to have become the servant of Elijah, and was afterwards identified with the prophet Jonah.

† Here is a proof that Chrysostom is not the author of this encomium, for he held the opinion that Elijah sinned in fleeing before Jezebel.

‡ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲥⲱⲱⲡⲓ is a gloss on the words ⲁⲁⲏ ⲧⲉⲡⲉⲧⲟⲛ *i.e.*, *μὴ γένοιτο*.

§ It will be noticed that Baal is here made a goddess.

ⲥⲱⲟⲩⲱⲟⲩ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲉ ⲓⲉⲍⲁⲃⲉⲗ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲥϯⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲙⲙ ⲡⲓⲑⲉⲥⲃⲓⲧⲏⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲛ ⲥⲉⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲙⲏⲩ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲕⲟⲧⲟⲩ ⲍⲁ ⲡⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲙⲉⲛⲉⲛⲥⲁ [ⲛⲁ]ⲓ ⲭⲟⲙⲙ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲙⲙ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲩⲫⲏⲣⲓ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲁⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲏⲗⲓⲁⲥ ⲁ ⲓⲉⲍⲁⲃⲉⲗ ⲥⲣⲟ ⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲁⲥϯⲱⲧⲉⲃ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲛⲥⲉ ⲉⲣ ⲍⲟϯ ϯⲁⲛⲭⲱⲥ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲛⲥⲉⲧⲁⲥⲑⲱⲟⲩ ⲉϯⲟⲩⲛ ⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲧⲩⲁⲙⲙⲉ ⲓⲁⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲛ ⲕⲉ ⲥⲟⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲍ ⲛⲧⲉ ϯⲙⲉⲑⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲥ ⲧⲁⲕⲟ ϯⲉⲛ ⲡⲭⲓⲡⲟⲣⲟⲩ ⲭⲁ ⲡⲟⲥ ⲛⲥⲱⲟⲩ. "Beloved brethren, when ye hear that Saint Elijah fled, do not imagine that he fled from the death of this world; nay, God forbid; for he longed to depart out of the death of this world, and to rest himself in the good things that are unutterable. But he feared lest, after the destruction which he had brought upon men, the famine and the fire which he had brought from heaven, and the blood of the prophets which he had poured out, which wonders the people having seen, believed upon God, if Jezebel should slay him, she would boast that she had slain the Tishbite, and that the whole multitude which had turned to God by reason of all the mighty deeds and wonders which Saint Elijah had wrought, whom Jezebel had persecuted and slain, would return to the service of idols, and that mankind would perish by forsaking God."

The account of God's finding Elijah under the juniper tree is in this encomium, but no mention is made of the wind or earthquake or the still small voice; and Elijah sums up his prayer to die, saying, ⲛⲁⲡⲉⲥ ⲅⲁⲣ ⲛⲏⲓ ⲱ ⲡⲁⲟⲥ ⲉⲑⲣⲓ ⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲍⲟⲩⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲁⲩ ⲉ ϯⲃⲁⲁⲗ ⲉ ⲁⲥ ⲥⲓ ⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ ⲕⲉ ⲥⲟⲛ, "It is better for me, O God, to die than to see Baal adored again." In the answer which God makes to him, the writer of the encomium shows very clearly what were the ideas which he himself held about Elijah, and also how great was the belief in his powers as intercessor with God for mankind. Many of these were no doubt borrowed from the Talmud, and altered to suit the fancy of the sect or creed of those who adopted them. After encouraging Elijah not to fear Jezebel, and reminding him of the many times in which He has helped him, He says: "As for thee, since the days which I have appointed for thee to work in this world are fulfilled, arise, go and anoint Elisha, the

son of Shaphat, to be prophet to Me in thy stead. And it pleases Me to do for thee an act of grace, the like of which has never been done to any man that My hands have made from Adam the first man to the end of the world, except Enoch * the Scribe. I will not allow thee to see death while there is a man of truth in the world: but I will send to thee from heaven chariots and horses of fire † upon which thou shalt ascend that I may take thee to Myself on high: and I will set thee as a protector of the whole race of men.‡ Thou shalt live in the body; if I desire to bring anger upon men, thou shalt pray to Me until I forgive them, for I am the Good One, and I love the work of My hands. I will grant thee to remain in

* According to the "Book of the Bee," Enoch and Elijah are the guardians of Paradise.

† Fire is the element characteristic of Elijah. Before his birth Sobak his father saw in a vision the birth of a man child who was wrapped in swaddling bands made of fire, and who was fed with fire. He told the dream to the priests at Jerusalem, who said, "Fear not, his words shall be like fire, and shall not fall to the ground." Epiphanius, *De Vita Proph.*

‡ It is in his character of benefactor that Elijah has become so famous and so favourite a saint all over the East. Among the Jews he was thought to be ready and willing to help man, from his birth in this world, throughout his life and death, until he entered heaven. At every circumcision a seat is placed for the prophet Elijah, the מלאך הברית, "angel of the covenant" (Mal. iii, 1), for he is supposed to see every ברית מילה with his own eyes; he comforts the afflicted and warns people against danger (Berachoth 3); gives advice to those in trouble (Taanith 21 and 24); wishes lasting happiness to the married pair (Jebamoth 63); he rescued the Rabbi Shela from the hands of the Roman governor (Berachoth 58*a*); he delivered Nahum from the hands of the robber who attacked him on his return from Rome; he healed Rabbi Sime ben Aschi of the bite of a reptile; he caught Rabbi Kahana, who fell from a house, and saved him from injury; he saved men from death; and appeared at various times as an Arab merchant, a horseman, a nobleman, and even as a harlot (אתא אליהו אידמי להו כזונה, Avodah zarah 18), in order to help or befriend a needy being. He is the establisher of truth and justice; all difficulties are to be solved when he appears; he will come three days before the Messiah; he is one of the four architects who will build up the temple from its ruins; and all secrets will be revealed by him. He leads men into Paradise, and even bears the punishment of some, that they may escape hell; but though so good to man, he once killed a man for not looking towards the synagogue (Berachoth 6). For more on these matters see the passages on Elijah quoted by Eisenmenger, "Entdecktes Judenthum," and a very able article in Fränkel's *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, July and August, 1861, Vol. XII, p. 241 *sqq.*

the body in indestructibility,* for it is My desire that thou taste not death, neither shall thine eyes see the terror thereof,† until the end of the world. I will make thy name to be glorified upon earth, and mighty deeds shall be wrought in thy name. Whosoever shall be in danger at sea or upon rivers, if they cry up to Me in thy name, I will hear them and protect them and bring them into the haven of safety. Whosoever shall be in affliction or bondage, or prison or banishment, and shall cry up to Me in thy name, I will hear them quickly, and will deliver them. Whosoever shall be in sickness of any kind, or afflicted by unclean spirits, if they go into the shrine which has been built for thee in the land, and pray to Me in thy name, I will hear them quickly, and will bless them with healing. The soul that shall build an oratory for thee on earth, shall dwell in the heavenly Jerusalem, and shall inherit the good things which I have prepared for My saints. Whosoever shall take the trouble to make and write a book in thy name, and to give it to thy shrine, I will write his name in the Book of Life, and I will make him to inherit the good things of the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever shall give a little oil or incense to thy shrine, I will remember his name in the tabernacles of eternity."

The writer of the encomium next relates briefly how Elisha became a disciple of Elijah, and then dwells at length upon the murder of Naboth, and the theft of his vineyard; and represents Jezebel as rendered speechless by the prophecy of evil to come to her which was uttered by Elijah. After the narrative, he breaks forth in joyous strains over the defeat of the "evil wild beast Jezebel," ⲧⲟⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲧ ϩⲱⲟⲩ, and this done, he advises all rich and powerful men who have wicked wives like Jezebel, not to uphold them in their wicked deeds against the poor, lest they fall into the danger of deserving the horrible punishments which Elijah pronounced

* According to Mohammedan tradition, Elijah lives in Paradise, and sits under the tree of Life, eating its fruit, and drinking from the fountain of Life. He is identified with Phinehas and Saint George, and called الخضر *See* D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.*, art. *Khedher;* and Weil, *Bibl. Legenden der Muselmänner*, p. 178; *Koran*, Sur. 21. Another tradition makes him live in the fifth mansion of Paradise, with the Messiah, Whose head he lays upon his bosom, saying, "Be silent, for the end is near."

ואליהו נוטל ראשו של מישיח ומניחו בחיקו ואומר לו החרש כי הקץ קרוב :

† So in the Talmud (Moed. Katon, 25), "Elijah lives for ever;" also, "he never tasted the bitterness of death." *See* Midrash Rabba (Moses. Parashah ii).

against Ahab and Jezebel. Moreover, any woman who treats the poor as Jezebel did, or who delights in dress and in ornaments of gold and silver, will become an object hateful alike to God and His holy prophet Elijah. And we are to remember that "just as Elijah was then, so he is now, for he neither dies nor perishes, but lives in the body at this present moment, and looks upon the sins of each one of us, and his word is mighty and more cutting than any two-edged sword."

The account of Ahaziah's sickness, his sending to Ekron, Elijah's message of death, and the destruction of the captains with their fifties, occupy about eight pages of the manuscript; twelve relate the circumstances of his ascent to heaven, and the last eight are filled with exhortations to us to follow in the footsteps of the mighty and ever living prophet, who was worthy of being taken to heaven without dying.

The encomium, as we should expect, has been translated into Coptic from the Greek; and the narrative of the actual facts of Elijah's life are taken directly from the version of the LXX. The writer followed them so closely that he has adopted many of their mistakes. For example, וַיִּתְמֹדֵד עַל־הַיֶּלֶד שָׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים,* "and he stretched himself upon the child three times;" LXX: *καὶ ἐνεφύσησε τῷ παιδαρίῳ τρις*, "and he blew upon the child three times;" Coptic: ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲁⲩⲡⲓⲫⲩ ⲉ̅ⲃⲟⲗ ⲇⲉⲛ ⲡⲉϥϩⲟ ⲛ̅ ⲥ̅ ⲛ̅ ⲥⲟⲛ, "he blew into his face three times;" וְהִשְׁבִּיעַ אֶת־הַמַּמְלָכָה,† "and he took an oath of the kingdom"; LXX: *καὶ ἐνέπρησε τὴν βασιλείαν*; ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲁⲩϩⲓ ϫⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉ̅ ϩⲁⲛⲙⲉⲛⲏϩ, "he set fire to the nation." The writer also confused the "prophets of Baal" with the "prophets of the Asherah," for he translates נְבִיאֵי הָאֲשֵׁרָה,‡ LXX: *προφῆται τοῦ ἄλσους*, by ⲛⲓⲟⲩⲏϧ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲛⲉⲩⲙⲛⲧ, "the prophets of shame," remembering *τοὺς προφήτας τῆς αἰσχύνης*, which occurs in verse 19, and which he translated by "prophets of Baal." Many of the passages are, however, turned from the Greek with great accuracy, but at times it seems as if the writer of the encomium was aware of the mistakes made by the Greek version, for he avoids them carefully, and his narrative runs very closely with the Hebrew text, though, from the instances cited above, it is clear that he cannot have consulted it.

Remarks were added by Rev. A. Löwy, Dr. S. Louis, Mr. T. Tyler, and the Chairman.

* 1 Kings, xvii, 21. † 1 Kings, xviii, 10. ‡ 1 Kings, xviii, 22.

The Rev. Charles James Ball read some "Notes on the Metres of David," which will be printed in the next number of the *Proceedings*.

Remarks were added by Rev. A. Löwy, Rev. W. Mead Jones, Dr. S. Louis, Dr. Chotzner, Mr. W. J. Haywood, Rev. C. J. Ball, and the Chairman.

The following Communication has been received :—

138, FELLOWS ROAD,
April 17, 1886.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

In compliance with your request, I write down some details in illustration of Dr. Louis's suggestive remark, that the belief in supernatural voices was not confined to the Jews.

The statement is fully borne out by Homer. In the *Odyssey*, Telemachus, starting in quest of his father, calculates on the probability of hearing a voice from Jove (*ὅσσαν ἐκ Διός*) to direct him. The spontaneous cry raised by an excited multitude is called the messenger of Jove.

μετὰ δέ σφισιν ὄσσα δεδήει,
ὀτρύνουσ' ἰέναι, Διὸς ἄγγελος. *Il.* ii, 93.

A character of inspiration is given to popular report :—

ἦ σέ γε λαοὶ
ἐχθαίρουσ' ἄνα δῆμον ἐπισπόμενοι Διὸς ὄμφῃ. *Od.* iii, 214.

and again with greater distinctness by Hesiod :—

φήμη δ' οὔτις πάμπαν ἀπόλλοται ἥντινα, πολλοὶ
λαοὶ φημίξωσι, θεός νύ τίς ἐστι καὶ αὐτή. *Op.*, 763.

This seems to be the origin of the phrase, "Vox populi vox Dei." The idea was probably an element in the intense fear of public opinion that was felt at Athens.

Æschines, in his plea against Timarchus, an infamous opponent, credits popular report with an instinctive truthfulness and prophetic sagacity, relying upon Homer, Hesiod, and Euripides, whom he quotes, and reminding his hearers that their ancestors had raised an altar to *Φήμη* as to a most mighty goddess. The altar is mentioned by Pausanias. The scholiast on the passage in Æschines states that the occasion of raising the altar was that the report of the victories at the Eurymedon was rife in Athens on the very day on which the battles were fought in Asia Minor.

There was a similar deification at Rome. A divine voice was said to have been heard announcing the approach of the Gauls. After this neglected warning had been justified by the event, a temple was erected to Aius Locutius. Our English words *money* and *mint* have reference to a similar belief, being derived from Juno Moneta, in whose temple money was coined. The title Moneta was assigned to Juno, according to Cicero (*de Div.*, i, 45), because a voice issued from her shrine prescribing the right mode of expiation for an earthquake.

It seems ironical to add that the Vatican was the seat of Deus Vaticanus, who, according to the explanation given by Varro, and accepted by Augustine, presided over the first utterance of infancy, deriving his name from *vagitus*. Aulus Gellius, however (xvi, 17), who quotes Varro, premises that the god was named from the vaticinations delivered by his inspiration in that part of Rome. In either case Vaticanus would be formed from *fa-ri*, the simplest root expressing speech, and may fairly be compared with the Greek *πανομφαῖος Ζεύς*. The comparison will still hold, even if the reference to infancy be allowed. Omens were taken from the chance words of children. In one temple (the reference to which I cannot at present recover) children were kept in the precincts with an express view to this mode of divination.

These facts of the Western world seem instructive in two ways They add one more to the ideas common to the families of mankind before the era of separation; and they also indicate incidentally the manner in which mythology grows. The vague early notion of supernatural utterance ends in the altar to Fama and the temple to Aius Locutius. Virgil's well known personification of Fama, though preposterous as regards time, supplies the connecting link in the order of thought.

Very faithfully yours,

J. Marshall.

It may be a convenience to members to print the lines in which the two-faced Janus rallies himself on being addressed (like the Egyptian sun-god) by the contradictory titles of the Opener and the Closer :—

Nomina ridebis : modo namque Patulcius idem,
Et modo sacrifico Clusius ore vocor. Ovid, *Fasti*, i, 129.

It has since occurred to me that the passage in Horace (*Od.* i, 3):

> datus in theatro
> cum tibi plausus,
> care Mæcenas eques, ut paterni
> fluminis ripæ simul et jocosa
> redderet laudes tibi Vaticani
> montis imago

testifying as it does to the existence of an echo in the Mons Vaticanus, may supply a key to the origin of the name, and of the belief connected with it.

The following Communication has been received :—

PHILADELPHIA,
March 16th, 1886.

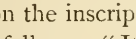
MY DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

I do not mean to be unduly sceptical, but why should we accept Nabonidus' statement (vide *Proceedings*, November 7th, 1882) that Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, lived "three thousand two hundred years" before him, as giving us an accurate date? If such a number met us in the Bible, we should certainly refuse to regard it as accurate; why not here also? We treat the number 480 in 1 Kings vi, 1, as meaning nothing more than twelve generations. The number 3200 is likewise a multiple of 40; why do we not explain it as meaning merely eighty generations? I suppose that Nabonidus was able to count up about eighty kings' names between himself and Naram-Sin. Reckoning forty years to each king, he obtained the number 3200, which, translated into our methods of speech, means nothing more than eighty generations. But a generation, most especially when generations are reckoned by the reigns of kings, is not really forty years. Supposing that Nabonidus had good authority for counting eighty royal generations between himself and Naram-Sin; eighty royal generations can scarcely be more, at the outside, than 2000 years, and is probably less. Assuming 2000 years in place of 3200, we should date Naram-Sin and Sargon about 2600 B.C., which, or even a later date, would accord better than 3800 B.C. with the other information which we possess.

Respectfully yours,
JOHN P. PETERS.

The following Communication has been received from Mr. P. Le Page Renouf:—

The Name of the Winged Solar Disk on Egyptian Monuments*

From the time of Champollion, the name of the Winged Solar Disk  which occurs numberless times on Egyptian monuments of almost every description, has generally been read *Ḥut;* and although this reading is an erroneous one, it still has possession of the field. Dr. Birch, in his dissertation on the inscription respecting the Princess of Bachtan, writes (p. 3) as follows: "It is here styled 'the Hut, the lord of heaven, the good god.' A great deal of unnecessary learning has been employed to propose profound explanations for this symbol, but the hieroglyphical inscriptions which accompany it explain its meaning in Egyptian mythology, it is 'the morning sun;' it is generally called the beam of light which rises or 'comes out of the horizon,' an expression only applicable to the morning sun."† "Il n'y a aucune contestation sur la lecture du nom divin," says M. de Rougé, "la valeur  est connue par de nombreuses variantes; le signe déterminatif des villes, ⊗, accompagne le nom, parceque Hout était le dieu éponyme de la ville de Hout (Edfou)."‡ "Hud chiamasi il disco alato, che si vede sopra i piloni, e sulle porte dei templi egizi," writes Signor Lanzone, in the very valuable "Dictionary of Egyptian Mythology"§ which he is now publishing.

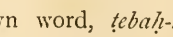
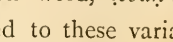
I was first led, a good many years ago, to question the accuracy of the reading *Ḥut*, by finding variants inconsistent with the statement

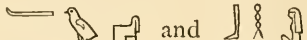
* The following amusing note in Mr. Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I, p. 357, is no longer to be found in the third edition, but it is a great deal too good to be lost: "Whether this Egyptian symbol of the eternally existing, which only requires to have its central disc supplied with eyes and a beak to become a good representation of a flying owl, was originally such a representation, is a question to which I can find no answer; but manifestly, this symbol deviates less from the form of a flying owl than do the symbols of animals used in the hieroglyphs deviate from their originals." If the author in suppressing this note imagined that he had been more seriously wrong than in his other explanations of Egyptian (and every other) religion, he was much mistaken.

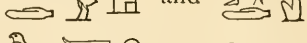
† Dr. Birch later on advocated *teb* as the correct reading.

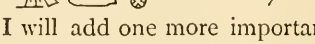
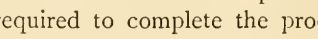
‡ *Étude sur une stèle égyptienne*, p. 9.

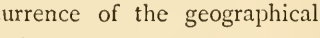
§ p. 915.

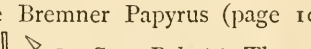
that the sign  always had the value *ḥu*.* The well-known word *baḥes*, 'a heifer,' is written  and  and another well-known word, *ṭebaḥ-ḥoṭep*, is repeatedly written . I appealed to these variants in a notice of the first parts of Brugsch's Dictionary in 1867, as proving that had the syllabic value *beḥ*. Brugsch quoted my criticism at p. 993 of his Dictionary, without attaching much importance to it, but at p. 1633 he adopts the argument as his own, and in the Supplement to the Dictionary, pp. 874 and 1365, he has added fresh and irrefragable proofs of the syllabic value for which I contended. There can now be no doubt about the identity of the groups :—

 and *beḥṭu*, a throne or seat.

and  and *Ḥeru Behuṭet*, Horus of Edfu.

I will add one more important piece of evidence, not because it is required to complete the proof, but on account of the frequent occurrence of the geographical name, which has generally been identified† with that of still existing localities called سمنود Samhud. The Bremner Papyrus (page 10, last line) gives the orthography  *Sam-Beḥuṭet*. The same inference might have been drawn from such variants as , where the throne stands for *beḥuṭet*.

The most curious variant perhaps is  found in an inscription of Chut-en-Aten, at Tel el Amarna (*Denkm.*, III, 110*i*).

The true name of the deity is therefore *Beḥuṭet*, which signifies *seat* or *throne*. When we remember that the name of Isis, who is another personification of the Dawn, also signifies seat or throne , it is natural to enquire what association of ideas there is between a *seat* and *sunrise?* It is not safe to be dogmatic on the subject, but the analogy of other languages may justify the conjecture that the *seat* means the quarter of the sky whence the sun rises. The Greek καθέδρα is used for the form of a hare, ἕδρα for the part of the sky in which omens are noticed. The kindred Semitic words ישב and وثب show how closely in language the notions of sitting and springing up are allied.

* In this, as in other cases, signs originally different and unlike have been confounded.

† *Cf.* Brugsch, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 707.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 1st June, 1886, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :—

I.—F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A., "Notes upon Egyptian Antiquities in the Collection of F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A."

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Botta, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
Place, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866–1869. 3 vols., folio.
Brugsch-Bey, Grammaire Démotique. 1 vol., folio.
———— Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
———— Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
Dümichen, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
———— 2nd series, 1869.
———— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1866.
———— Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
Golenischeff, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
Lepsius, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
De Rougé, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
Wright, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.
Schroeder, Die Phönizische Sprache.
Haupt, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
Schrader, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
Rawlinson, Canon, 6th and 7th Ancient Monarchies.
Pierret, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. 8vo. Paris, 1875.
Burkhardt, Eastern Travels.
Wilkinson, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824–30. (*Text only.*)
Chabas, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, II, III. 1862–1873.
———— Voyage d'un Egyptien en Syrie, en Phénicie, &c. 4to. 1867.
———— Le Calendrier des Jours Fastes et Néfastes de l'année Égyptienne. 8vo. 1877.
Maspero, De Carchemis oppidi Situ et Historia Antiquissimâ. 8vo. Paris, 1872.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

SIXTEENTH SESSION, 1885-86.

Eighth Meeting, 1st June, 1886.

WALTER MORRISON, Esq., President,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors, a special vote of thanks being voted to Mr. F. Cope Whitehouse for his donations:—

From the Geological Society:—The Quarterly Journal. Vol. XLII. Part 2. No. 106. May 1, 1886. 8vo. London.

From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—The Journal of Proceedings. Vol. II. New Series. Nos. 15 and 16. 6th and 20th May, 1886. 4to. London.

From the Royal Geographical Society:—The Proceedings. Vol. VIII. No. 6. 1886. 8vo.

From the Victoria Institute:—The Journal of the Transactions. Vol. XVIII. 8vo. 1885.

From the Anthropological Institute:—The Journal. Vol. XV. No. 4. May, 1866. 8vo. London.

From the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland :—The Archæological Journal. Vol. XLIII. No. 169. 8vo. London. 1886.

From the Editor :—The American Journal of Archæology. Vol. II. No. 1. 8vo. Baltimore. 1886.

From the Editor :—The Johns Hopkins University Studies. Fourth Series. V. An Introduction to the Study of the Constitutional and Political History of the States. By J. Franklin Jameson, Ph.D. 8vo. Baltimore. 1886.

From the Editor :—The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Edited by Rev. Stephen D. Peet. Vol. VIII. May, 1886. No. 3. 8vo. Chicago.

From the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres :—Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'année 1885. Quatrième série. Tome XIII. Bulletin d'Octobre–Novembre-Décembre. 8vo. Paris. 1886.

From the Author, R. V. Lanzone :—Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia. Quinta Dispensa. Parte Seconda. 4to. Torino. 1886.

From the Author :—Handbücher der Alten Geschichte. I. Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte. Von C. P. Tiele. I. Teil, von den ältesten zeiten bis zum tode Sargons. II. Gotha. 8vo. 1886.

From the Author :—De Hoofdtempel van Babel en die van Borsippa (naar de opschriften van Nebukadrezar). Door. C. P. Tiele. 8vo. Amsterdam. 1886.

Overgedrukt uit de Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Köninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling *Letterkunde.* 3de Reeks. Deel III.

From the Author :—Witnesses from the Dust, or, The Bible illustrated from the Monuments. By Rev. J. N. Fradenburgh, A.M., Ph.D. 8vo. Cincinnati. 1886.

From the Author :—Researches in the Mœris Basin, a volume specially prepared for the library of the Society, with abstracts and copies of papers read at Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, and Cairo since November 5th, 1885, English, French, Greek, and Arabic; illustrated with photographs taken by him in the Raian and Fayoum basins, and on the Bahr Jousuf. By Cope Whitehouse, M.A.

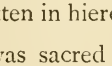
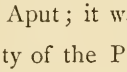
The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated 4th May, 1886, and elected Members of the Society :—

Rev. A. S. Geden, M.A., Oxon, Dalkeith, Midlothian.
Rev. Professor Biggar, M.A., Magee College, Londonderry.
John Newton, M.R.C.S.E. and L.A.C., 9, Westcliffe Road, Southport.
John Whitehead, The Esplanade, Guernsey.

The following was, by special order of the Council, nominated for election, and elected a Member of the Society :—

Rev. William Ewen, M.A., B.D., Kinning Park Parish, Glasgow.

Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A., read a Paper describing a number of Egyptian Antiquities in his Collection.

In the course of the year 1885 some very interesting excavations and discoveries were made at a place now called Ekhmîn or Ekhmim, situated upon the right bank of the Nile, in the Thebaid, opposite to Souhag. This town occupies the site of a very ancient city called Chemmis, and written in hieroglyphics  Khem, and  Aput; it was sacred to the god Khem or Ames, it was the chief city of the Panopolite nome, and in later times its name was changed to Panopolis.

Judging from the antiquities therein discovered, we learn that the place must have been occupied as a city from a very early date, probably about the XIth dynasty, throughout the later Empire, the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. A few interesting antiquities, mostly of Ptolemaic and Roman times, have found their way recently to London.

The most interesting objects sent me from this site are two sepulchral boxes of sycamore wood. They are shaped much in the form of a pylon, being 18 inches high, 17 inches wide at the base, 14½ inches wide at the top, and 10½ inches deep from back to front.

* *See* Brugsch, "Dict. Géog.," p. 19.

There is a cornice decorated with vertical lines of black, red, black, and yellow, several times repeated in that order, painted on a white ground, beneath which, upon three sides of the chest, is a narrow line of five-rayed stars, followed by a row of three figures , then Anubis seated upon his hill, five times repeated; then another row of five-rayed stars, beneath which is a row of tats and girdles placed alternately, with a row of five-rayed stars below them.

The principal space on the box is occupied by a figure of the deceased person, represented of a red colour, therefore an Egyptian, wearing a blue cap on his head, a blue collar round his neck, and his tunic is composed of two shades of blue; he likewise wears an armlet on his right arm above the elbow. This figure is represented kneeling upon his left knee, holding up his left arm, with his thumb upraised, and his right hand placed upon his stomach. In front of him are two blank cartouches, and behind him are three jackal-headed genii, all kneeling in the same attitude; their flesh is represented of a yellow colour, wearing blue cloths upon their heads, with red and blue tunics, with blank spaces in front of them upon the ground, and two above each of their heads, coloured red for an inscription. Upon the opposite side of the box the deceased is seen kneeling on his right knee, with three hawk-headed genii kneeling behind him, with all the same attributes as those just described. These genii* or spirits are mentioned in the 112th chapter of the Book of the Dead, called a "chapter of knowing the spirits of Tu"—the jackal-headed genius was called Ṭūaumutef, and the hawk-headed, one Qebḥsenf.

Lanzone figures these spirits in his "Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia," plate xxvi, and describes them on pp. 56 and 57 of that work, as Ammu . Those having hawk-heads are the "spirits of Buto," , and were sons of Horus; Amset and Hapi, the jackal-headed deities, were the "Spirits of Meni," , Ṭūamutef and Kebḥsenf, sons of Horus.

Beneath this picture of the "Ammu" are three broad lines of black paint, with a sort of key pattern below it in red and black.

* There is a bronze figure of each class of these spirits in the British Museum, Nos. 11497, 11498.

This box or stand, which never appears to have been furnished with a lid, is perforated on the lines just below the genii with four rectangular holes which are the same on each side, in one of them is a piece of cord still remaining, but for what use these holes could have been intended is difficult now to conjecture.

Having described the fronts, it now remains for me to do like office for the ends. The cornice on the left hand side is decorated with the winged disk supported by two uræi, painted on vertical lines of blue and red; beneath the cornice on the end of the box are eight uræi painted blue with red disks upon their heads on each side of ☥, *ānχ*, which occupies the centre of the line, then a winged disk as before upon a red ground, below it is another row of uræi, then a line occupied by the winged disk also painted on a red ground.

The principal space is occupied by the figure of a hawk, standing upon a pedestal, with an altar in front of it with offerings placed thereon. Over the hawk's head is a uræus and disk. Upon either side of this pedestal are depicted Thoth and Horus standing with upraised arms pouring a libation over the hawk.

Upon the opposite end the decoration is the same as on the sides, and below it is a figure of a hawk with outspread wings, wearing a disk and uræus upon his head, holding in each of his claws a sceptre with a plume in it; upon each side of the hawk's head is a blank cartouche.

The decoration of the second box is rather different, inasmuch as the figures are much larger. On three sides of the first line beneath the cornice is represented the three figures , then the figure of Anubis lying couchant upon a bier, with two vases beneath it, four times repeated, then a row of tats and girdles. The deceased person here is decidedly a king, with red skin, blue head-dress with uræus in front, wearing a blue collar and armlets, a yellow tunic with black stripes and a blue apron, kneeling on his right knee, with right arm held up with thumb upraised—a cartouche is in front of him. The genii on the one side are hawk-headed, and on the other jackal headed, and are represented as having yellow flesh; they wear blue head-dresses, a red collar, a light purple tunic with a blue apron, the ends contain the hawk with outspread wings, and with the same

attributes as on the other box, and the opposite end has the hawk on the pedestal with the gods Thoth and Horus pouring libations over his head. In the front of this box or stand the holes are circular instead of being rectangular as in the first described box.

When these two stands first arrived they were unique, and were shown to the late Dr. Birch, who had never seen anything of the kind before, and he was greatly interested in them; he did not know their use, but since then we are informed from Egypt that they are considered to be coffin stands, which appears to be a very feasible idea. General Grenfell, C.B., who has seen many of them of various sizes at Ekhmim and Thebes, informs me that they were used as coffins or receptacles for animals' mummies; he has one which had three divisions inside, in each of which was a mummy of a cat. Within the last few weeks, Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge has sent you a description of one of these boxes belonging to Mr. L. W. Engelbach, C.B., which is in every way similar to the first one described, excepting that it is a size larger, being 26 inches high, against mine of 18 inches, and it is further asserted that General Sir Evelyn Wood possesses another of similar form, both from Ekhmim. In addition to these boxes there must have been another of much larger dimensions, judging from a plank in my collection, which measures 3 feet 6 inches high, 10 inches wide at the base, tapering up to rather less than 7 inches at the top. The box to which this belonged must have been at least 3 feet 8 inches high and $2\frac{1}{3}$ feet wide. It bears similar decoration to each of the ends which have the figures of Thoth and Horus upon them in the smaller boxes already described, but rather more like the first one on account of the several rows of five-rayed stars occurring at regular intervals between the lines of uræi and the winged disk.

The figure of Thoth on this plank is 13 inches high; he is standing with left leg advanced, both hands raised in the attitude of pouring a libation. His head is gilded, he wears a large yellow head-dress with black stripes; around his loins he wears an ornamental brown tunic, and above that as far as his breast he wears a close-fitting garment bearing a resemblance to scale armour; this is likewise gilded.

Along the margin of this plank on the top and side are hieroglyphics. On the side it bears the name of an unknown king, who was probably one of the later Roman kings who reigned over Egypt for

a short time, or perhaps only over the upper country, and was buried in the tomb at Ekhmim. There is no doubt but that the plank and the three boxes, and probably the fourth, all came from the same place.



A pedestal of a figure of Ptah-Socaris-Osiris from Ekhmîm is worthy of being placed upon record, inasmuch as it is an object of interest and beauty. The figure itself was not sent over.

The pedestal is $17 \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick. In front of the socket-hole in which the figure was fixed is represented Anubis couchant, upon a bier, beneath which are six vases, placed in two rows one above the other; four are painted black, and the two central ones are red. Upon each side of Anubis are four human-headed souls, each wearing a red disk, with their hands upraised in the attitude of adoration; behind each of these is the figure of the shade (similar to those described by the late Dr. Birch, Vol. VIII, p. 386, of our *Transactions*). This vignette is represented on a yellow ground; beneath this are seven vertical lines of hieroglyphics, coloured green, yellow, and orange, the central column being green; below this again are three more columns of hieroglyphics, painted in black on orange, with green stripes on each side, with a kneeling figure of Nephthys on the right hand, and a similar one of Isis on the left.

The ornament on the sides and ends is composed of ☥ *ānχ*, coloured orange, and 𓋴, or kukufa sceptres, painted white, placed, back to back, with the space between them coloured red. The ground upon which these decorations are painted is of a deep blue colour; beneath this is a peculiar and effective style of decoration, like the lower end of a circle, filled in with lines and cross-lines, the spaces filled in with red paint.

Upon the lid or cover of a funereal box, in sycamore wood, ornamented with an arrangement of small squares painted in colours, on three sides of a large space coloured pink, is a short inscription in demotic characters.

Monsieur E. Revillout says the inscription reads, "Ta poer, the wife of Pet-tum."

Some masks from mummy cases have been sent to me, one in wood of a female with the face coloured yellow, and a peculiar high head-dress of about the XXth dynasty; another of a child of about the same period. The most remarkable one that has come into my collection from Ekhmim, and which is probably unique, is composed of cartonage, in fact, its composition is not unlike papier mâché. It is the whole head and part of the head end of the inner case of the mummy. It is coloured red, representing a man of middle age, in all likelihood a portrait, with a close-cut black beard and moustache, which latter is shaven immediately under the nose. He wears a fillet on his head, beneath which upon his brow is a band composed of uræi in relief, painted yellow to represent gold. At the back of his ears is a head of Horus, wearing plumes; round the neck or back part upon a white ground are figures of Anubis on each side, with Thoth, Osiris, and Horus between them; height, 15 inches. This is of the Ptolemaic period, the deceased being probably a Greek.

Another mask from a mummy case, made of plaster covered with linen or coarse cloth, upon which is laid gold leaf; the eyes are inlaid, and the tunics are made of hippopotamus ivory, the pupils being stained black, the eye-lids and eye-brows are of greyish coloured glass; beneath the chin the hieroglyphs  *Rā χeper*, are written in black upon red ground.

Two or three small wooden hawks and a perfect figure of Ptah-Socharis-Osiris upon a pedestal with the model of a coffin in front of it, also came from the same place.

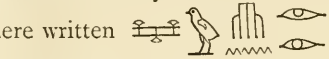
The only bronze figure that I have as yet had from Ekhmîm is a remarkably fine head of Helios in excellent preservation, it represents him wearing the sun and rays as a head-dress; the head is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height. The late Dr. Birch expressed an opinion that it might possibly have been intended to represent Alexander the Great.

Having sketched out some account of objects from Ekhmim, Mr. Price described some antiquities from other parts of Egypt now in his collection.

The following Communication has been received from Mr. P. Le Page Renouf:—

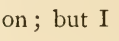
The Name of , the Blind Horus.

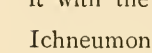
I have long wished to offer some remarks upon M. Lefébure's very interesting communication on the Egyptian name of the Ichneumon, in our *Proceedings* of June 2nd, 1885, but have had no time to do so till now.

The picture of the animal called  *χatru* by the Egyptians appears in the tomb of Ramses VI as a symbolical representation of the god whose name is there written  *Heru χent en mau*, who is known to us from the Turin text of the Book of the Dead, and from many other documents under the orthography  *Heru χent an mau*, "Horus prince of blindness," or as others might translate it, "resident in the realm of darkness." M. Pierret renders it "le dieu qui est sans yeux." This myth has been explained long ago. Horus is the sun, and when he is no longer seen, but has disappeared beneath the horizon, he is said to have lost his eyes, and to be sitting in darkness. Very similar myths are to be found in many parts of the world.

Now Horus was worshipped specially under this title *χent an mau* in the town of Sechem, named by the Greeks Letopolis, and under this title he was called the Lord of Sechem. Whenever the Lord of Sechem is mentioned, it is the blind Horus who is meant. But the title itself underwent a curious transformation, through the carelessness of the Egyptian scribes. The negative particle , *an*, which occurs in so many independent documents that no doubt can be entertained about its correctness or signification, was frequently written with the phonetic sign  or its homophone , which led to its being confounded with the phonetic complement of , *χent*, and sometimes it was dropped altogether; so that the name of the god was often written, even in the earliest times, as Prince of "Sight" or "Two Eyes" instead of "Blindness."

It was, no doubt, in order to escape from the difficulty of choosing between two contradictory readings of the same religious text, that this title of the god was struck out of the eighteenth chapter of the Book of the Dead, where it occurs in all the ancient copies, and that for it in the later recension we find substituted "Lord of Sechem," or *χent Sechem.*

M. Lefébure is unquestionably right in identifying the old Egyptian word *χatru* with the Coptic ϣⲁⲑⲟⲣⲗ, to which the native lexicons assign the meaning النمس, the Ichneumon; but I am not so sure that the animal whose picture occurs in the royal tomb is an Ichneumon. We have in the British Museum (No. 1604) a bronze figure, exceedingly like the picture in the royal tomb, but it does not represent the Ichneumon, but the Blind Mouse, commonly called the Shrewmouse. The hieroglyphic inscription at the base identifies it with the "Lord of Sechem," whereas the inscriptions on our Ichneumons identify them with the goddess , *Uat'it.**

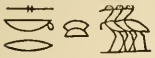
The true meaning of *χent an mau* of the god of Sechem must have been rightly understood by those who so appropriately chose for his symbol an animal of the same zoological family as the Mole, and with very similar habits and physical characteristics.  would be an excellent Egyptian name for the Shrew, as it would be for the Mole.

But the god of Sechem is found at the time of the XXVIth Dynasty with another name  *χert* (Denkm. III, pl. 277*a*). The determinative of this name in the plate published by Lepsius seems to be a *Lion.* It would be interesting to verify the accuracy of this. The Egyptian *word* reminds one at once of the Semitic חלד, שכו, and خلد, and the Lion may turn out to be a Shrewmouse after all.

There is another name  *ḥetes*, which belongs to one of these insinuating† animals, ichneumon, weasel or shrew. Identifi-

* The Ichneumons in the British Museum are always represented standing on their hind legs.

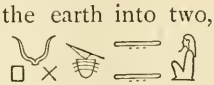
† This is the meaning of the Semitic root from which these animals derive their names. The name of the prophetess Huldah has the same origin.

cation of the species is only possible on the monument itself, which is perhaps the most ancient in the world, the Mastaba of  *Sekar-χā-Baiu.**

The following Communication has been received from Mr. P. Le Page Renouf :—

The Egyptian God Àpuat.

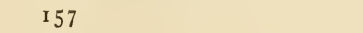
The Egyptian god  *Àp-uat* has always until now been identified with Anubis. But if a doubt is thrown upon the correctness of this identification, I know of no foundation for the accepted view beyond the fact that both divinities have a jackal for symbol. This is an insufficient ground, for the jackal appears as the symbol of other divinities.

The name *àp-uat* (or as it was written in very early days *up-uat*) signifies the "opener of the roads," of the Northern and Southern skies. This is a title of the sun, who in his daily course from east to west also opens or divides the earth into two, the north and south, and is accordingly called  *àp-tau.* This is one of the names of Osiris, in the 142nd chapter (line 5) of the Book of the Dead.

But Àp-uat is directly identified with Osiris in the following invocation inscribed on an obelisk of the XIIth dynasty now in the collection at Alnwick Castle:—



tuà-nek Uas-àri χent àmenta àp-uat neb Àbṭu àti nutàru nebu ḥeq

* Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 74, and following. I transcribe  *χā* in deference to general usage. I know of no other variant than  *ḥā em maāt*, in the title of Thothmes III (see *Königsbuch*, No. 349).

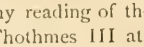
ḥequ neb neχt us mā-χeru neb entet atet."* "Glory to thee Osiris, prince of Amenti, Apuat, lord of Abydos, sovereign of all gods, king of kings, lord of strength and power, triumphant, lord of all that is, and all that is not (yet)."

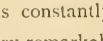
The Ritual of the Pyramids (*see* that of Unas, line 188) speaks of  *ȧp-uat per em ȧsrt*, "the god Ȧpuat coming forth from the tamarisk tree," that is the rising sun issuing from the light morning mist.

The following Communication has been received:—

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

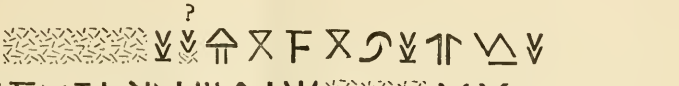
I am very glad to find that Prof. Eisenlohr was able to take a second copy of the inscription at How, and correct my errors, since, as I have explained, my copy was made under peculiarly unfavourable conditions, and I was, of course, unable to revise it. My discovery of the *stêlê*, however, not only caused it to be brought to the Professor,—though it also led, I am afraid, to his being charged 20 piastres for the privilege of copying it,—but it has preserved the inscription from utter oblivion. I visited How again this winter, and found that the Sheikh's tomb in which the stêlê had so long served as a pavement-stone, was undergoing as thorough a restoration as an old English church; the stêlê had disappeared as well as the other stones which I had noticed in its company, and an ominous limekiln had been erected close by.

* Since I quoted a number of papyri in the British Museum where  *atet* appears as a variant of , M. Naville has published his splendid edition of the Book of the Dead, in which fresh authorities for my reading of the Egyptian negative will be found, *e.g.*, the Linen Ritual of Thothmes III at Cairo, and the Ritual at the Vatican.

It will also be observed that in the Pyramid texts published by M. Maspero the well known word  *ȧnt'* is constantly written  *ȧt'* (see, *e.g.*, *Teta*, l. 45). This is another and very remarkable instance of the assimilation of the letter *n* to the dental which follows it.

I examined all the other tombs in the neighbourhood, and discovered nothing but fragmentary texts of the Ptolemaic time. Nor was I able to find again the stone with the cartouche of Pepi which I had observed in the wall of a house on the occasion of my previous visit.

I have another Kypriote graffito from the temple of Seti at Abydos to communicate. It represents No. xxxviii of my former Paper, which I was not able to copy as it was for the most part concealed by a brick wall. The wall has been pulled down by Prof. Maspero's orders sufficiently to expose the graffito to view. Unfortunately I found it much more obliterated than I had anticipated.



[The lines should be continuous].

Pi-la-no o Vo-ro-to-ro *-pi (?)-o sa te ka-se e-ta-ve-sa-to e(?)-.-e *Φίλανο(ς) ὁ Fορθρου κὰς ἐθαFήσατο* "*Philanos the son of Vorthros and was astonished at the*"

The digamma of Vorthros is interesting: so also is the primitive form of the verb which appears in Homer in the Ionicised form *(ἐ)θηήσατο*. The character  is new to me, and the letter which follows may be , *te*.

I have carefully re-examined the difficult inscription numbered xxxvii in my former Paper. The second letter, starting from the right, is followed by two others, the first of which is *ta*, the second apparently *u*. The character which follows *a* is *mi*, and between *ko* and *se* is a line of division. The last character but one is more probably *ro* than *ke*. In the second line the first character is *e*; and a letter *may* be obliterated after *se*. I should now, therefore, propose to read the inscription in boustrophedon fashion: "Rertoammias (?) son of Korras (Κοῤραν)" The last words look like the unintelligible *τάδ' ασα ἔφθασε*.

A. H. Sayce.

The following Communication are the Remarks made at the last Meeting (May) by the Rev. C. J. Ball :—

The Metres of David.

We have the testimony of Josephus and Philo, not to mention later and less authoritative writers, for the much disputed fact that the poetical portions of the Old Testament are arranged in various metres. Apart from the æsthetic interest of such a fact, it is evident that, if established, it cannot fail to have an important bearing on the criticism and correction of the traditional text. It is, no doubt, very natural to suspect that the "choral odes," the "trimeters," "hexameters," and "pentameters," of which these writers talk, cover a pardonable but ill-founded assimilation of Hebrew to Hellenic prosody. But it is difficult to suppose that even national vanity would have led these learned Jews into making express assertions of this kind, had the poetry of their people been totally destitute of metrical form. In last month's *Proceedings* I had the honour to lay before the Society a specimen of what appeared to be a trisyllabic metre; to which I added some indication of the necessary rules for the scansion of Hebrew verse. It is obvious that we cannot assume that the Massoretic pronunciation faithfully echoes the sounds of the language as spoken at the epoch of David. It is not the living image, but a partly traditional, partly artificial representation of the ancient speech. Comparative Morphology has, however, enabled modern scholars to approximate to the antique forms with far greater accuracy than was possible in bygone generations.

The Last Words of David (2 Sam. xxiii, 1–5) are clearly heptasyllables; using that term after the analogy of the hendecasyllables of Catullus. The piece is commonly spoken of as a fragment; but I believe it to be complete. I transcribe it thus :—

4 · 4 · 5 · 5 · 6 ·

Na'ûm | Dawîd | ben Yî | shai
Wan'ûm | haggabr | *ḥeqîm* | 'al
Mashîḥ | 'elô | hê Ya' | 'qub |
Wan'îm | z'mirôth | Yisrâ | 'il.

2.

Rûḥ Iah | weh dib | bar*at* | bî
Wamill' | thô 'al | lashô | nî

'Amar | 'elô | hê Ya' | qub |
Lî dib | ber çûr | Yisrâ | 'il.

3.

Môshel | ba'a | dam çad | dîq
Môshel | yir'ath | 'elô | hîm
Waka | 'ôr buqr | yizraḥ | shamsh
Buqr lâ | 'abôth | minnu | ghî
Mimma | ṭar da | sha'*at* | 'arç.

4.

Kî lâ | ken bei | thî 'im | 'el
Kî *lâ* | brîth 'ô | lam sam | -lî
'rûkah | bakkól | washmû | rah
Kî kol | -yish'î | wakol | -ḫefç
Kî lâ | yaçmîḫ | [*'elô* | *hai.*

5.

Lâ ken | *ban*]ê | Balî | 'al
Kaqôç | mûnad | kullâ | ham
Kî lâ | bayad | yiqqâ | ḫu
Wîsh | yig | ga' bâm | yimmâ | le'
Barzel | wa'éç | ḫanî | thô
Ba'ésh | sarâf | yissar | 'fû.

The poem falls into two strophes; the first containing three stanzas, the second two. The number of stichi in the stanzas accords with the scheme 4 . 4 . 5 . 5 . 6.

The italics mark innovations. In I, 2, I have restored *hēqîm 'al*, "whom the Most High raised up." *'Al*, as a Divine title, synonymous with *'elyôn*, occurs Hos. xi, 7; cf. *lô'al* = lô 'elôhîm, Hos. vii, 16. I know no instance of *'al* in the adverbial sense required by A.V. Moreover, the hoph'al *hûqam* occurs only in Ex. xl, 17; Jer. xxxv, 14; whereas hiph'il is frequent, of God's raising up prophets, judges, priests, and kings. Finally, LXX has ὃν ἀνέστησε κύριος.

In II, 1, I have assumed that *rûḫ* is, as usual, fem., and written archaic *dibbarat* (=dibberah) for *dibber*. But here, and in III, 3, 4, 5; IV, 2; V, 5; those who dislike change may find catalectic (*i.e.*, hexasyllabic) verses. In II, 3, I have restored *Ya'qub* for tautologous *Isrâ'il*. In III, 3, we might prefix the single letter *he* to

the last word, and scan: wak'ôr | buqr yiz | raḫ hash | shamsh. In III, 4, I have ventured on the genitival form *nughî*; cf. *'ôserî*, Gen. xlix, 11; *hahôphekî*, Ps. cxiv, 8. Otherwise, *minnî nugh* might be read. (The expression *minnṓgah* is Davidic. The only instances are: 2 Sam. xxii, 13 = Ps. xviii, 13, and this passage). The text is not very certain, as the LXX shows. It read *'abar* for *'aboth*, which only occurs besides in Ps. lxxvii, 18, whereas *'abim* occurs fourteen times. In III, 5, I have written דשאתארץ for דשאמארץ. *Taw* and *Mem* are sometimes confused in MSS., and the archaic דשאת (like אזלת) might easily be misread, because misunderstood. I translate:

"If one rule over man righteously,
If one rule in the fear of Elohim;
'Tis as the light of dawn at sunrise,
A dawn cloudless for shining,
When after rain the earth grows green."

The last three lines, however, may be scanned as catalectic stichi, if anyone is satisfied that David can have written them as they stand.

Wak'ôr | buqr yiz | raḫ shamsh |
Buqr lâ | 'abôth | minnugh |
Mimma | ṭar dish' | me'arç |

In IV, 1, I take *kēn* in the sense of "fixed," "firm," "stable." The term is a verbal adjective in Gen. xlii, 11, 19, 31; 2 Kings, vii, 9; Isa. xvi, 6; and the root is several times used in the oracle promising permanence to David's house (2 Samuel vii, 12, *waḫăkînôthî*; 13, *wĕkônantî*; 16, *nākôn*).

I render the stanza:

"Shall not my house endure with God?
Hath He not made me an eternal covenant,
Ordered in every point, and secured?
For all my weal and every wish
Will not (my God) make it spring?"

I suppose *'clôhai* to have fallen out at the end of this stanza, and *lâ ken ban* at the beginning of the next. Nah. i, 15 (ii, 1) is the only place where I find *Beli'al* used personally, without a preceding *ben*, *bnê*, *'adam*, *'ish*, &c. I think the term means *not high*, and so *low*,

worthless, vile (*balî-'al; cf.* the Greek transcription Βελίαλ Βελίαρ). Otherwise, the metre is not injured by running on thus: kî la | yaçmîḫ | wablî | 'al. The *waw* probably represents the final *yod* of *banê*.

Perhaps V, 2, 3, should be scanned :—

kaqôç | mûnad | kullâm
kî lâ | bayad | yiq'ḫû |

I have transferred the *waw* with which V, 6 opens, to the end of line 5—a mere matter of right division of words. At the end of V, 6, the meaningless *bashshebeth* is omitted, as the metre requires. In the next line of the Hebrew narrative, the word recurs, as part of the incomprehensible name of the Taḫkemonite hero; whence it has probably been added here, some scribe's eye having wandered to the line below. The LXX read *bŏsheth*, "shame," instead of *shebeth*, "dwelling;" I think, therefore, that the hero's name was ישביבעל, meaning, perhaps, "Baal leads captive," from שבה (*cf.* ישבאב, 1 Chron. xxiv, 13). As in the case of Ishbosheth, *bosheth* was substituted for *Baal;* and then further corruption ensued, some copyist reading the first part of the name *Yosheb*, and naturally guessing that the second part should be *shebeth*.

I now come to the great Paean or Lobgesang, of which we have two independent copies preserved respectively in 2 Sam. (xxii), and in the Psalter (Ps. xviii). In neither is the text perfect; but that of the Psalter is superior, although the recension of Samuel offers a few preferable readings. I have carefully examined and metrically divided the entire poem; but I doubt whether it does not consist of two distinct odes, which have been welded into one. At all events, the first portion (verses 2–31) presents a strophic arrangement, which cannot be traced in the second. The poem consists of combinations of octosyllabic, heptasyllabic, and hexasyllabic stichi, with an obviously Iambic rhythm. The first portion contains nine strophes, of which the scheme is 7 . 8 . 8 | 7 . 8 . 8 | 8 . 8 . 7 . The symmetry of this arrangement is evident :—

I.

'Erḫá | măka | Iahwèh | ḫizqî |
Iahwèh | sal'î | wamçû | dăthî |
'Elô | hai çû | rî 'èḫ | seh bô |

Magin | nî qarn | yish'î |
Misgab | bî wam | nûsî |
Maullal | 'eqrá' | Iahwèh |
Me 'ôi | bai 'iw | wăshé' | *

2.

'Affû | nî mish | brê maut |
Naḫlê | B'lî'al | yaba' | thûn
Ḫeblê | shĕ'ól | sabbûn | nî
Qid'mû | nî mô | q'shê maut |
Baççar | lî 'eq | ra Iah | weh
wa'el | 'elî† | 'ashaw | wé'
Wayyish | ma' mê | kalô | qôlî |
Washaw | 'ăthî | tabô b | 'oznaw. | ‡

3.

Wattig | 'ash wat | tir'ash | ha'arç |
Wamô | sd'ê hâ | rîm§ yir | găzû |

* The signs ⏑ indicate the ancient quantity of the vowels. They are only added, where they seemed necessary for a reader's guidance. *Maullal* for Măhullal, l. 6, and *'óibai* for 'ôyĭbai, l. 7, are contracted according to analogy (with latter *cf.* Assyr. *'aibi*). I have omitted מכלטי in l. 2, as a gloss on מצודתי in both texts, although it recurs in the late imitation, Ps. cxliv, 2. In like manner, môshî'î mēḫāmā̆s tôshî'ênî in Sam. may be glosses on māgēn qèren yish'î misgabbî. But perhaps Môshî | 'î mé | ḫămás | should be inserted between lines 5, 6. The first strophe will then contain eight lines.

The stichic scheme is 8 . 8 . 8 . 6 . 6 [6?] . 6 . 6 .

† Both texts have *'elôhai*. The line might be read :—

Wal 'e | lohai | 'ashaw | wé'

‡ The *washaw'athî b'oznaw* of Sam. may be right, *tabo* having originated in the *taw* of the first word, and the *beth-'alef* of the last. If the PS. text, on the other hand, is correct, even to the *l'ĭfānāw*, the line will be decasyllabic :—

Washaw | 'athîl | 'fanaw | tabo b | 'oznaw

a sort of concluding Alexandrine.

The scheme of the strophe is 6 . 7 . 7 . 6 . 7 . 7 . 8 . 8 (10).

§ Sam. reads Môsdôth | hashsha | maim yir | gazû. | This is perhaps preferable, as presenting a better parallel to *ha'arç*.

Wayyith | ga'shû | kî ḫa | rah lô |
'Aláh | 'ashán | bappô |
Wa'esh | mippiw | tôkél |
Gaḫ'lîm | ba'rû | mimmèn | *
Wayyéṭ | shamaim | wayyaird |
Wa'rá | fel taḫt | ragláw | .

4.

Wayyir | kab 'al | krûb way | ya'óf | †
Wayyéd' | 'al kan | fê rûḫ |
Wayyá | sheth ḫushk | sithrô |
Sabî | baw‡ suk | kăthô |
Ḫushk ta | mîm§ 'ab sh | 'ḫaqîm |
Minnugh | negdô | 'ab'rû | ||
Barad | wagaḫ | lê 'esh. |

5.

Wayyar | 'em bash | shamaim | Iahwèh |
'Elyôn | yittén | qôlô |
Wayyish | laḫ ḫiç | çaw way | fîçém |

* I have assumed here and elsewhere that an unaccented suffix may be silent. The scheme is 8 . 8 . 8 . 6 . 6 . 6 . 6 . 6 . *Cf.* the first strophe.

† This word should perhaps be omitted as a gloss on *wayyēde'*. Then the scheme of the strophe will be 6 . 6 . 6 . 6 . 6 . 6 . 6 . (reading the first line Wayyir | kab 'al | kirûb. | For *kirub*, see Schrader, K.A.T., p. 39, *sq.*)

‡ *Cf.* Ps. xcvii, 2, or read *sabîbôth*.

§ "Utter darkness" (?), *cf.* Isa. xlvii, 9 : Kĕthummâm. *Ḫeshkath maim* would scan ; but the change from *ḫushk* to *ḫeshkath* seems suspicious. I have written *'ab* instead of the plural *'abê*, on the ground of Ex. xix, 9 ; Job xxxvi, 29. If the readings of the text be kept, we get { Ḫeshkath / Ḫashrath } maim 'ā | bê sha | ḫaqîm. |
Then, supposing line 1 to be correct in the texts, the scheme becomes
8 . 6 . 6 . 6 . 8 . 6 . 6 .

|| I omit *'abaw* as probably originating in an inadvertent repetition of *'abe'rû*.

Wabra | qîm ba | raq* way | hummém |
Wayyē | ra'û | 'afî | qê yám |
Wayyig | gălû | môs'dôth | têbél |
Migga' | rathka | Iahwèh |
Minnish | math rûḫ | 'appák |

6.

Yislaḫ | mimma | rôm yiq | qăḫén |
Yamshén | mimmaim | rabbîm |
Yaççîl | me'ôy | 'bî 'az |
Missôn | 'ai kî | 'amçû | mimmèn |
Yaqad | damû | nîb yôm | 'aidî |
Waihî | Iahwèh | lamish | 'ăn lî |
Wayyô | çî'e | nî lam | merḫáb | †
Yaḫal | lăçén | kî ḫa | féç bî |

7.

Yigm'lén | Iahwèh | kaçid | qî
Kabór | yadai | yashîb | lî
Kî sha | martî | darkê | Iahwèh |
Walô | rasha' | tî mê | lôhai |
Kol mish | paṭaw | laneg | dî

* I have restored *baraq* from Sam., where it may be pointed as a verb. The imitation of the passage in Ps. cxliv, 6, where the imperative of this verb occurs, is in favour of this change. The *rab* of Ps. xviii, 15, may be the result of transposing the first and second radicals after the third had disappeared.

8 . 6 . 8 . 8 . 8 . 8 . 6 . 6 .

Omitting the article in line 1, and keeping initial *wa* in line 2, we get :—

Wayyar | 'em b 'sha | maim Iah | wèh
Wa'el | yôn yit | ten qô | lô

and the scheme 7 . 7 . 8 . 8 . 8 . 8 . 6 . 6 .

† Sam. Wayyô | çê' lam | merḫab | 'ôthî. | Perhaps both suffix and *'óthî* are insertions. Omitting them, the line is hexasyllabic.

Schema :— 8 . 6 . 6 . 8 . 8 . 8 . 8 (6) . 8 .
or 8 . 6 . 6 . 8 . 7 . 8 . 8 . 7 .

(yaqad | mûnî b | and Yaḫal | çen kî |).

Waḫuq | qôthaw | lâsûr | mimmen | *
Wa'eh | yeh ta | mîm 'im | mô
Wa'esh | tammer | me'wô | nî

8.

Wayyá | sheb Iah | wèh lîk' | çidqî |
Kabōr | yadai | lanegd | 'ênaw |
'Im ḫa | sîd tith | ḫassád |
'Im g'bar | tamîm | tittam | mám
'Im na | bar tith | barar |
'Wa'im | iqqésh | tithpat | tal
Kî 'at | tah 'am | 'anî | tôshî' |
Wa'ê | naim râ | môth tash | pîl†

9.

Kî 'at' | ta'îr | nêrî | Iahwèh |
Iahwèh yaggîḫ | ḫushkî |
Kî bák | 'arûç | gadûd |
Wabê | lôhai | 'adal | leg shûr |
Ha'él | tamîm | darkô |
'Imrath | Iahwèh | çarû | făh
Magén | hû'l kol | haḫô | sîm bô |

Strophic scheme: 8 . 6 . 6 . 8 . 6 . 7 . 8

Perhaps | ç'rûfah | in line 6. Then:

8 . 6 . 6 . 8 . 6 . 6 . 8

I will next consider the song at the Red Sea, of which we hear so many echoes in younger lyrics. Out of a total of 42 lines, 20 are here Decasyllables. This new measure is still Iambic in

* Sam. 7 . 7 . 8 . 8 . 7 . 8 . 7 . 7 . Perhaps better:—

ḫuqqô | thaw îâ | sîr men | nî
wâhî | tamîm | 'immô |
Washtam | mer me' | wônî |
7 . 7 . 8 . 8 . 7 . 7 . 6 . 6 .

8 . 8 . 6 . 7 . 6 . 7 . 8 . 7 (8).

† Last line in Sam. Wa'ê | naik 'al | râmîm | tashpîl | (8).
(?) Kî 'am | 'anî | tôshî' |
'Enê | râmîm | tashpîl. |

rhythm, and corresponds to our own Epic metre, or Blank verse. With it are variously combined Octosyllables and Hexasyllables, as might be the case in an English so-called irregular ode. These metres occur and recur in Wordsworth's

10 "There was | a time | when mea | dow, grove, | and stream |
8 The earth, | and eve | ry com | mon sight, |
$\frac{8}{2}$ To me did seem
8 Appa | relled in | celes | tial light, |
10 The glo | ry and | the fresh | ness of | a dream | ."

Compare the same poet's

10 "Oh, move | thou cot | tage from | behind | that oak |
10 Or let | the a | ged tree | uproot | ed lie |
8 That in | some oth | er way | yon smoke |
6 May mount | into | the sky | ."

Exod. xv, 1–18.

1.

10 Ashîr | a'l Iah | weh kî | ga'oh | ga'áh |
10 [Kî] sûs warô | kĭbô | ramá | bayyám |
6 'Ozzî | wăzim | rath Iah |
6 Waihî | lî lî | shû'áh |
6 Zèh 'ê | lî wa' | neh lô | *
8 'Elôh | 'ăbî | warô | mĭmen |

2.

10 Iahweh | 'îsh mil | ḫămah | Iahweh | shĭmô |
10 Markbôth | Par'âu | ḫailôth | yará | bayyám |
10 Wămib | ḫar sha | lîshaw | ṭub'û b' | yam sûf |
6 Tĭhô | môth ya | kasyûm |
8 Wayyer | dû bim | çôlôth | kmô 'abn | †

3.

10 Yămî | năka | Iahwèh | ne'dár | bakkôḫ |
10 Yamî | naka | Iahwèh | tir'aç | 'ôibaik | ‡

* Text *wa'anwĕhu*, a semel dictum. (It scans very well.)

† Perhaps Yardû m' | çôlôth | k'mô 'abn. |

‡ LXX, ἐχθρούς, final *Kaf* having fallen out.

10 Wabrób | ga'ô | naka | tahrós | qamaik |
10 Tashal | laḫ ḫrô | naka | yôklém | kaqqásh |
6 Brûḫ 'ap | paik na'r | mû maim |
8 Niççă | bû k'mô | nêd nô | zĭlîm | *
8 Qaf'û | tĭhô | môth bil | bab yám |

4.

8 'Amár | 'ôyíb | 'erdóf | 'assíg |
10 'Aḫal | leq sha | lal tim | la'êm | nafshî |
10 'Arîq | ḫarbî | wathô | rîshêm | yadî |
10 Nashaf | ta brûḫ | aka | kissâ | mô yám |
8 Çallû k | 'ôfirt | b'maim 'ad | dîrîm |

5.

8 Mî k'mô | ka ba | 'êlîm | Iahwèh |
8 Mî k'mô | ka ne' | dar(î) | baqqudsh |
8 Nôrâ | tahil | lôth 'ô | sēh fil' |
10 Naṭî | tha y'mîn | ka tib | la'ê | mô 'arç | †
10 Naḫî | tha b ḫas | dika | 'am zû | ga'alt' |
10 Nehal | ta b'oz | zăk 'al | nawéh | qudshák |

6.

8 Sham'û | 'ammîm | (wa) yir‡ | gazûn |
8 Ḫîl 'a | ḫaz yô | shĭbê | Pĭlasht |
8 'Az nib | h'lû 'al | lûfê | 'ĕdôm |
8 'Êlê | Mô'áb | yôḫ'zê | mô ra'd |
8 Namô | gû kol | yôsh'bê | kăna'n |

7.

10 Tippól | 'ălai | hem 'ai | matha | wăfaḫd |
10 Bigdól | zĭrô | 'ăka | yid'mû | ka'abn |
8 'Ad ya' | bor 'am | măka | Iahwèh |
8 'Ad ya' | bor 'am | zû qă | nîtha | §

* Perhaps, Niçbû | k'mô nêd | nôzlîm |
Qafû t | hômôth | bleb yám. |

† Or, Naṭî | thai mî | naka | tibl' 'ê | mô 'arç. |

‡ LXX inserts καὶ.

§ The dislocation of the accent in this last word is hardly more startling than Cowper's "Gone thither arm'd and hungry, rèturn'd full."

Or Milton's "Burnt after them to the bottòmless pit."

8.

10 T'bî'êm | wătiṭ | ṭă'êm b' | har naḫ | lăthák |
10 Măkôn | lăshib | taka | pă'alt' | Iahwèh |
10 Miqdásh | 'Adô | nai kô | nĭnû | yădaik | *

Deut. xxxii.

Josephus, Ant. iv, 8, 44. "After this, he (Moses) read to them a poetic song, which was composed in hexameter verse" (Whiston's *Trans.*, p. 102). The following metrical arrangement is, I think, a sufficient vindication of this statement of the old Jewish writer. The lines are, in fact, mainly *hexasyllabic*, the stanzas are mostly *hexastichic*, and the poem is *hexastrophic*. Josephus naturally used a term more familiar to the Greeks. He need not himself have been minutely acquainted with Greek prosody, well as he knew the language. But in any case, he had to convey the fact that *six* was the metric standard of this poem, and for that purpose he availed himself of a term that stood ready to his hand.

1.

8 Hâzî | nûsh sha | maim wâ | ḏabrâ |
8 Wathish | ma' ha | 'arç 'im | rê fî |
6 Ya'rôf | k'maṭar | liqḫî
6 Tizzal | k'ṭal 'im | rathî |
6 Kis'î | rîm 'a | lay dish' |
6 Kirbî | bîm 'a | lay 'isb |

2.

6 Kî shém | Iahwèh | 'eqrâ' |
6 Habû | gudl lê | lôhain |
6 Haççûr | tamîm | po'lô |
6 Kî kol | darkáw | mishpáṭ |
6 'Êl 'mû | nah wain | 'auláh |
6 Çaddîq | waya | shar hû' |

* The octosyllabic line which follows in the original :—

Iahwèh | yimlók | l'ôlam | wa'èd |

appears superfluous. The poem closes with nearly the same phrase as Ps. xc, which is also traditionally assigned to Moses. Moreover, a Tristich after a Tetrastich is natural at the end here, as elsewhere.

The *crescendo* in the opening stanzas—two ten's, three ten's, four ten's—is noticeable. The strophic scheme is

6 · 5 · 7 · 5 · 6 · 5 · 4 · 3 ·

3.

6 Shiḫéth | lâ' ba | naw mûm |
6 Dôr 'iq | qesh waf | taltól |
6 Halyah | weh tig | m'lû zôth |
6 'Am nab'l | walâ' | ḫakám |
6 Halâu | 'abîk | qanák |
6 Hû' 'âs | ka way | kônnák |

4.

6 Zekór | yamôth | 'olám |
6 Wabîn | shnôth dôr | wadôr |
6 Shal 'a | bîk yag | gidák |
6 Ziqnaik | wayôm | rû lák |
6 Banḫél | 'elyôn | gôyîm |
6 Bafrî | dô bnê | 'adám |
6 Yaççéb | gbûlôth | 'ammîm |
6 lamis | par bnê | 'êlîm |

II.

6 Kî ḫelq | Iahwèh | 'ammô |
6 Ya'qob | ḫabl naḫ | lathô |
6 Yimçaiw | ba'arç | midbár |
6 Bathuhw | yĕlêl | 'shîmôn |
6 Yasób | ben ya | bônnêw |
6 Yiçren | kîshôn | 'ênô |

2.

6 Kănishr | yă'îr | qinnô |
6 'Al gô | zălaui | 'raḫéf |
6 Yifrós | kanfaw | yiqḫêw |
6 Yissaiw | 'al 'eb | răthô |
6 Iahwèh | bădád | yanḫén |
6 Wain 'im | mô 'el | nekár |

3.

8 Yarkî | bew 'al | bâmô | thê 'arç |
6 Yâkîl * | tnûbôth | sadai |
8 Wayyê | nîqew | dĕbash | missal' |
6 Washamn | meḫal | mish çur |
8 Ḫem'ath | baqar | waḫel | bê çôn |
6 'Im ḫelb | karîm | wailîm |

* ἐψώμισεν αὐτούς. So Samarit.

4.

6 Bnê Ba | shan wat | tûdîm |
6 'Im ḫelb | kilyôth | ḫiṭṭah |
* * * * *
6 Wadam | 'enáb | tisht ḫamr |

III.

* * * * *
8 [Wayyô | kal ya' | kob way | yisba' |] LXX add.
8 Wayyish | man 'Shû | rûn way | yib'áṭ |
6 Shaman | ta 'bî | tha ksîth |
6 Wayyi | ṭṭósh 'lâh | 'ăsau |
8 Waynab | bel çûr | yăshû | 'ăthô |

2.

6 Yaqnî | 'uw baz | zârîm |
6 Bathô' | bôth yak 'isûw |
6 Yizbḫu l | shedîm | lâ'i lâh |
6 'Elô | hîm | lâi | da'ûm
6 Ḫadshîm | miqqa | rob ba'u |
6 Lâ sa' | rûm 'bô | thaikem |

3.

6 Çûr ya | ladka | tishyéh |
6 Wattish | kaḫ 'elm | ḫôllák |
7 Wayyar' | Iahwèh | wayyín | 'aç
7 Mikka's | banaw | wabnô | thaw
6 'Astî | rah pa | nai mêm |
6 'Er'eh | mah 'aḫ | rîthâm |

4.

6 Kî dôr | tahpû | kôth hém' |
6 Banîm | lâ 'ê | mûn bâm |
6 Hem qin | 'ûníb | lâ 'êl |
6 Ki'sû | nî bab | lêhém |
6 Wânyaq | ní'êm | blâ'ám |
6 Bagôy | nab'l 'ak | 'îsêm |

IV.

6 Kî 'esh | qadḫáh | bappî |
6 Tîqad | 'ad shôl | taḫtîth |

7 Wattô | kal 'arç | wîbû | lah
7 Watlá | heṭ môs | dê hâ | rîm

2.

6 'Aspeh | 'alaim | ra"ôth |
6 Ḫiççai | 'akal | leh bâm |
8 Mazê | ra'ab | walḫû | mê rishp |
8 Waqiṭb | marî | rî [ya | shoddém |]*
8 Washen | bêmôth | 'ashal | laḫ bâm |
6 'Im ḫmath | zôḫ'lê | 'afár |

3.

6 Mihûç | tashak | kel ḫarb |
6 Wameḫ | darîm | 'aimáh |
6 Gam ba | ḫûr gam | b'thûláh |
6 Yônéq | 'im 'ish | saibâh |

4.

6 'Amar | tî 'af | 'êhem |
6 'Ashbî | tham nôsh | zikrâm |
6 Lûlê | ka's 'ô 'ib | 'agûr |
6 Pen ya | nakrû | çâraim |
7 Pen yôm' | rû ya | den râ | mah
7 Lâ Iah | weh fa | 'al kol | zôth

V.

7 Kî gôy | 'âbad | 'eçôth | hém
7 Wa'ain | bahem | tĕbû | nah
7 Lû ḫak | mû yas | kîlû | zôth
6 Yabî | nu laḫ | rîthâm |

2.

7 'Aiká | yirdóf | 'eḫád | 'alf
7 Washnaim | yanî | sû rbá | bah
7 'Im lâ | kî Çûr | am m'ká | ram
6 Wa Yah | weh his | gîram |
6 Kî lâk | çûrén | çûrâm |
6 Wa'ô | yĭbên | p'lîlîm |

* Or yô | kĕlém, | or yig | ga' bâm. | I have supplied the hiatus from Prov. xi, 3; Ps. xci, 6.

3.

6 Kî mig | gafn Sdómgafnâm |
6 Mishad | môth 'Am | orráh |
6 'Anbê | mô 'in | bê rôsh |
6 'Ashklôth | marô | rôth lâm |
6 Ḫmath tan | nînîm | yeinâm |
6 Warôsh | p'thanîm | 'akzár |

4.

6 Halau | kamûs | 'immád |
6 Ḫathûm | ba'ôç | rôthai |
6 Lî na | qam wa | shillém |
6 La'eth | tamûṭ | raglâm |
6 Kî qa | rôb yôm | 'aidâm |
6 Waḫâsh | 'athî | dôth lâm |

VI.*

7 Kî ya | dîn Iah | wèh 'am | mô
7 Wa'al | 'ab dáw | yith néḫ | am
7 Kî yir | 'eh kî | 'az lath | yad
6 Wa'afs | 'açûr | wa'zûb |

2.

6 Wa'a | mar 'ai | 'lôhaim |
6 Çûr(am) | ḫasa | yû bô |
6 Sheḫelb | zbaḫaim | yôk'lû |
6 Yishtû | yain nis | kêhém |
6 Yaqû | mû ya' | zrûkém |
6 Yî 'a | laikém | sithráh |

3.

6 R'û 'at' | kî 'nî | 'nî hû' |
6 Wain 'lô | hîm 'im | mădî |
7 'Anî | 'amîth | wâḫai | yeh
7 Maḫaç | tî wâ | nî 'er | pa'
6 Wain miy | yadî | maççîl |

* *Cf.* V. 1 with VI. 1.

4.

7 Kî 'es | sa 'l sha | maim ya | dî
7 Wâmar | tî ḫay | 'ano | kî [le'olam, *gloss.*
7 'Im shan | nôthî | braq ḫar | bî
7 Watô | ḫez bmish | paṭ ya | dî
7 'Ashîb | naqám | laçâ | rai
7 Walim | san'ai | 'ashal | lém

5.

6 'Ashkîr | ḫiççai | middám |
6 Ḫarbî | tokal | basár |
6 Middam | ḫalal | washbî | [text, shibyah.
6 Mêrôsh | par'ôth | 'ôyéb |

6.

7 Harnî | nû gô | yîm 'am | mô
7 Kî dam | 'aba | daw yiq | qôm
7 Naqam | yashîb | laçâ | raw
7 Wakip | per 'ad | math 'am | mô

Note.—Every strophe contains four stanzas except the sixth, which contains six. Lines not now hexasyllabic may have been so originally; *e.g.*, II. 3: Yarkîbew bâmôth 'arç Yenîqew d'bash missal' Ḫem'ath baqar ḫelb çôn.

The following Communication has been received from Professor Sayce:—

Coptic and Early Christian Inscriptions in Upper Egypt.

Four years ago I published my copies of the Coptic *graffiti* found in the tombs of Beni-Hassan, and in the Ptolemaic and Roman temples of Deir el-Medîneh and Deir el-Giblî at Thebes (*Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, June 6, 1882). Since then I have examined the numerous Coptic inscriptions at Abydos and on the roof of the temple of Edfu; but I have left the task of copying them to others, as at Abydos I was occupied with other texts, and at Edfu my time was limited. The winter before last I came across several more Coptic inscriptions, many of them previously unknown, and none of them copied and published. Along with them I discovered some early Christian inscriptions in Greek, besides a sepulchral inscription in both Greek and Coptic. Nearly all these discoveries were made in the neighbourhood of Deir Abû Hannes.

Deir Abû Hannes, "the monastery of Father John," is a small village a little to the south of the ruins of Antinoê. It has succeeded to a walled Coptic town, the remains of which still stand between it and the mounds of Antinoê, and are known (like similar remains at How) by the name of el-Medîneh, "the city." The village is Christian, and the church is an old one, though not as old as the time of the Empress Helena, as it claims to be. This claim can more easily be sustained for a church, long since disused, which was made out of one of the old quarries that line the cliffs at the back of the modern village.

Those cliffs extend from behind the mounds of Antinoê, where they form a kind of amphitheatre, southwards to a bluff called Sebêdeh, which projects into the Nile. If we climb nearly to the summit of the cliffs, a little to the south-east of Deir Abû Hannes, we come to an old road which leads us past a line of ancient quarries. I found that these had been the habitations of early Christian monks or hermits, for whom doubtless the old quarry-church had been established. The church itself consists of three chapels, due to the configuration of the quarry, and a little after passing it we reach a projecting piece of rock, on which are the mutilated relics of a tablet, apparently of the age of the XVIIIth dynasty, representing a king making offerings to Amun, "the lord of the two worlds." The cartouche is unfortunately destroyed.

Before the church is reached, the quarries cease to be in a single line, the face of the cliff having been excavated wherever the stone was suitable for the purpose. The line of quarries is accordingly sometimes double, sometimes triple. After passing the point at which the tablet has been engraved, the line of cliff breaks into a small ravine, but the quarries continue, and we soon reach another straight line of cliff. This is again interrupted by a ravine, of much greater depth than the first. On the southern side of this second ravine the quarries are of small size as compared with those to the north; but, like the latter, they have been used as habitations by early Christian monks, and are generally protected in front by a low wall of loose stones. After walking past them for nearly a mile, we reach a third ravine. Just within the northern side of this is the famous tomb of the Colossus, and below it a smaller tomb in excellent preservation, of which I have copied the whole of the hieroglyphic texts. In the desert at the foot of the third ravine is the village of

Deir en-Nakl, "the monastery of the Palm-trees." There are several tombs in the cliffs south of the third ravine, and the cliffs eventually end in the promontory of Sebêdeh. I have carefully explored the whole line of cliff from behind Deir Abû Hannes to the northern edge of the second ravine, as well as the cliff from the southern extremity of this ravine to the tomb of the Colossus. Owing to the brigandage with which Egypt was infested the winter before last, I was unable to examine the second ravine, as I was alone at the time with only one unarmed native, who refused either to enter it himself, or to allow me to do so. To the same cause is due the fact that the copies of the inscriptions I have taken were the hasty work of a single afternoon; I was unable to go over any of them a second time, and was obliged to leave several uncopied.

The frescoes which can still be traced on the walls of the old quarry church, in spite of the defacement they have undergone, are exceedingly interesting, and it is a pity that they are not copied by a competent artist before it is too late. One of them represents the Virgin and Child in a medallion in the same attitude and style of art as that which has been made familiar to us by later Byzantine art. The left side of the medallion has been destroyed, but the rest is perfect. There are also frescoes representing the slaughter of the Innocents, the flight into Egypt, Elizabeth and Zacharias, the marriage in Cana, where Christ is turning the water into wine by the help of Moses' rod, the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth, the raising of Lazarus (stated in Murray's Guide-book to be "treated in the same way as on a tomb of one of the exarchs at Ravenna"), and other subjects which are all indicated by the epigraphs written over them. In the adjoining chapel are full-length figures of saints, among whom appear the names of *ἅγιος* Κόσμας, *ἅγιος* Δομήτιος, and *ἅγιος* Νταμίανος ("Saint Damianos"), which is an interesting example of the modern Greek way of representing the sound of *d*. St. Damianos belonged to the sixth century, and must have been soon canonised, as the church is older than the Mohammedan conquest of Egypt.

Just outside the right hand entrance to the church are the remains of a tomb cut in the rock, with a Greek Christian inscription engraved above it. This was already known; but further to the south, more especially on the northern side of the first ravine, I found some more Christian tombs with Greek epitaphs, and outside a large quarry in the line of cliff between the first and second ravines a large and really excellent piece of sculpture, with an inscription on either side in

Greek and Coptic commemorating the death of a certain Isaurian, Papias the son of Melito. The quarry itself had been turned into a chapel, and its walls were covered with *graffiti*. Most of them were in Coptic, but there were also a few in Greek. It would appear from the epitaph of Papias that the place was dedicated to St. Makarios.

I now proceed to give my copies of the texts.

From the roofs of the quarries behind Deir Abû Hannes, before reaching the quarry-church:—

1. + ΘΕΟΓΝΟC
ΤΟΜΟΝΑ
ΧΟΝ +

Theognos seems to have intended to write the accusative τὸν μοναχὸν instead of the nominative. In any case his grammar is unsatisfactory.

2. ΚΥΡΙΕΒΟ
ΗΘΙΤΟΝ
ΘΕΟΓΝΩC
ΤΟΥ

"O Lord, help (βοηθεῖ) Theognostos."

3. ΑΠΑ ΛΩΝΕ "Amba Lône."

4. CΑΡΑΠΩΝ.

5. CΕΡΑΠΙΩΝ.

6. ΠΕΤΡΟC
ΑΓΓΟC

7. APIC
B[illegible] (?)
H M
} Painted in red.

8. ΠΑϤΟΧΩϢΤΟΦΗΩΦ (?)

Inscriptions cut or painted in red and yellow on the walls and roof of the church:—

(Engraved below the medallion of the Virgin and Child):—

ΗΗ ΠΝΟΥΤΕΝΠϢΑΥΙΟCΙΩϢΑΝΝΗCΑΡΙΠΑΜΕΕΥ[ΕΜ]
ΑΝΟΚΠΙΛΑΧ[ΙCΤΟCN̄]ΡN̄ ΔΙΑΚ[Α]ΚΑΝ.
ΑΝΟΚΕΝΝΕΒΟΛ
.... Α (?) ΤΑ′

The second line means, "I the least among evil doers Diakakan." I fancy the name is a corruption of the Greek διάκονος.

2. (Painted on the wall in red).

+ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲓⲉⲗⲁⲭⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥⲛ̄ⲣⲉϥⲣ̄ⲛⲟⲃⲉⲙⲏⲛⲁⲁ ⲅⲉⲓⲍ
ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲁⲓⲱ ⲡ(?)ϥⲛ̄ⲥⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲃⲟⲧⲙⲉϣⲟⲣⲏⲛ̄[ⲧ]ⲉⲓ̈[ⲣⲟⲙ]ⲡⲉ[ⲧⲁⲓ̈]ⲉⲃⲁⲟ[ⲙⲟⲛ]
ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲓⲙ̄ⲡϣⲁⲙ̄ⲧ
ⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲃⲟⲧⲑⲱⲑ
ϣⲗⲏⲗⲉⲭⲱⲓ̈Ⲩ

I am uncertain whether the name is Mênas Ageiz . . . or Mênas Ateiz . . .

3. (Engraved near an effaced inscription in large Greek capitals)

ΑΠΑΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΠΠΟϹ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϣ . . . ⲧ +

4. (Painted on the ceiling in yellow).

ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲁϥⲉⲛϭⲓⲧⲣⲏⲕⲟⲣⲓⲟⲥⲡⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥⲉⲛⲉⲛⲏⲥⲏⲥ

ⲭ^ⲅⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲛⲓⲉⲛⲟⲩϩⲱϥ
ⲡϩⲱϥ ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲧⲁⲫⲣⲟⲛⲓⲉⲙⲙⲟϥ
ⲉ(?)ⲧⲉⲡⲁⲓⲡⲉⲓⲭⲉⲕϣⲁⲛⲗⲟⲉⲕⲉⲣⲛⲟⲍⲉ
ⲡⲛⲟⲃⲉ ⲭⲛ̄ⲁⲥⲁϩⲱϥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲙⲟⲕ[ⲁⲥ]
ⲁⲩⲱⲉⲕϣⲁⲗⲟⲉⲩⲉⲣⲛⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ
ϣⲁⲣⲉⲡⲉⲧϥ[ⲛ]ⲁⲛⲟⲩϥ ⲥⲁϩⲱϥϥ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲉⲙⲟⲕ

The text is a curious homily upon "the despisers of work." The corrupt Greek words incorporated in it will be noticed.

5. (Painted on the ceiling in red).

+ ⲁϥ ⲛϭⲁⲡⲁⲣⲥⲉⲛⲓⲟⲥ ⲭⲉⲁⲣⲓⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ ⲛⲣⲱⲙ .
ⲛ . ⲙⲁⲣ ⲱⲙⲉⲩⲱ

ⲭⲟⲛ̄ⲡⲕϭⲣⲟϭⲉⲡⲛⲁⲩⲉⲭⲧ(?)ⲟ(?)ⲟⲩⲉⲁⲩⲱⲛ̄ⲡ̄ⲣ̄ⲕⲁⲧⲟⲛⲧ̄ⲕ̄ⲉⲃ̄
ⲟⲗ ⲩⲍ . .

ⲁⲣⲓⲧⲁ[ⲩⲁ]ⲡⲏⲱ ⲗⲏⲗ ⲉⲭⲱⲓⲟⲩⲟⲛⲛϳⲙⲉⲧⲛⲁⲱⲱⲉⲛⲓⲥⲍⲁ̄ⲓ̄

6. (Painted on the ceiling in red).

ⲁⲛⲟⲕⲡⲓⲧⲁⲗⲉⲡⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁⲍⲁⲏ(?)ⲉⲃⲟⲗⲉⲣ̄ⲁⲛⲁϥ . . .

The Greek *ταλαίπωρος* is intended.

7. (Above No. 6 in red).

ⲟⲩⲁⲛ̄ⲁⲱⲉⲛⲟⲩⲭⲛ̄ⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲙⲉⲣ̄ⲣ(?)ⲧϥ̄ +

8. (Fragment on the ceiling in red).

. . . ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲍⲛ̄ⲣⲓⲙⲉⲱⲱⲡⲉ

Inscriptions over the tombs and in the second quarry-church:—

9. (Engraved over a rock tomb just outside the church).

ⲉⲓⲥ ⲑⲉⲟⲥ ⲟⲃⲟⲏⲑⲱⲛ ⲉⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲏⲗ ⲍⲁⲙⲏⲛ

Below this is an ornament consisting of a palm-branch laid horizontally and placed within two lines. Under this we have:—

ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲍⲁⲙ ⲁⲛⲉⲡⲁⲩⲥⲁ
ⲧⲟ ⲉⲛ ⲕ̄ⲱ̄ ⲑⲱ ⲙⲉⲥ[ⲟ]ⲣⲏ
ⲓ̄ⲉ̄ ⲉ̄ ⲓⲛⲇⲓⲕ

The phrase is *ἀνεπαύσατο ἐν κυρίῳ θεῷ*.

The indictions unfortunately give no clue to the date, "the 6th indiction" belonging to any one of the series which began (according to the usual computation) A.D. 312.

10. (Engraved over a rock-tomb adjoining No. 9. There is a small palm-branch at the end of the first and the beginning of the second line).

ⲁⲡⲁⲑⲱⲙⲁⲥⲉⲕⲩⲙⲛⲏⲑⲏ
ⲡⲁⲩⲛⲓ [ⲓ]ⲓ̄ . . . ⲓ̄ⲓⲛⲇⲓⲕⲇⲓⲟⲛⲟⲥ

Probably no letters are lost in the second line, and the 6th indiction is again mentioned. The spelling will be noticed.

11. (Engraved over a tomb on the north side of the first ravine).

ⲁⲡⲁⲱⲣⲟⲩⲭⲓⲥ
ⲁⲛⲁⲡⲁⲩⲥⲟⲙⲉⲛ
ⲉⲛ ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲟⲩ ⲫⲁⲣ
ⲙⲉ̀ⲑⲓ ⲅ̄/ⲇ̄ ⲓⲛⲇⲓⲕ̄

"We, Amba Orthykhis, will rest in the Lord, the 3rd day of Pharmuthi and the 4th indiction." Κυρίου is a piece of bad grammar for *κυρίῳ*.

12. (Engraved over a tomb in the same place).

ⲁⲡⲁ ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣⲁ
ⲛⲉⲡⲁⲩⲥⲁ
ⲧⲟ [ⲉ]ⲛ ⲕ̄ⲱ̄
ⲑ̄ⲱ̄ⲙⲉⲥⲟ
ⲣⲏ ⲕ̄ //

The name Victor points to an early period, when Latin names were still in use in Upper Egypt.

13. (Engraved over a tomb in the same place).

ⲁⲡⲁ ⲏⲙⲓⲟⲇⲱⲣⲟⲥ
ⲁⲛⲉⲡⲁⲩⲥⲁ
ⲧⲟ ⲉⲛ ⲕ̄ⲱ̄ⲑⲱ
ⲫⲁⲱⲫⲓ̄ ⲍ̄
[ⲉ]ⲛ ⲧⲏⲕⲁⲧⲉ
ⲧⲕ̄ⲭ ⁂

I do not know the meaning of the last two lines.

14. (In the second quarry-church, engraved over wreaths carved on the wall).

ⲡⲥⲟⲛⲕⲟⲗ
ⲗⲟⲩⲑⲉ

"The brother Kolluthe," a common name among the early Copts. It represents the Greek *ἀκόλουθος*.

15. (Engraved in the same place).

ΟΘΕΟCΒΟΗΘΗCΟΙ
ϩ&ΜΗΝ
ⲁ☥ⲱ

The use of the old Egyptian *crux ansata*, the symbol of life, for the Christian cross, is striking.

16. (Engraved in the same place).

ΑΡΙΤΑΓΑ
ΠΗϢΛΗΛ
ЄΧΩЄΙΤΗΡΤΝ̄
ΑΝΟΚΠCΟΝ
ΚΟΛΛΘΥΘЄ

I must leave an account of Aritagapê for another communication. The purport of the inscription is: "Pray for me, all of you; I am the brother Kolluthe."

17. (Scratched on the wall in the same place).

ⲁριⲧⲁⲡⲁⲡⲏ
ϣλⲏλєχωιⲁⲣο
ⲕⲡιєλⲁχιc ⲧοc
πρєϥⲣ̄ⲛοβєϣ
λⲏλ єχωϊ ⲏⲧє
ⲡⲏοⲩⲧє ⲧοⲩω
ⲙιⲣⲏⲣ/ϥⲧⲁⲣ̄
ⲡєϥοⲩωⲙⲡⲣⲩ
ⲏⲧⲁϩⲁϩⲩ єⲃολ
ⲕⲁλϥⲡⲁⲛοⲕ ⲁ
λλєϩ[ⲁⲛⲁ]ροc
ⲡϣє ⲓωcⲏϕ

I was obliged to copy this text in a great hurry, and the characters are much defaced, I cannot guarantee its accuracy throughout. The forms Ⲣ and Ⲣ are used for N, Of course ⲡϣє is for ⲡϣⲏρє, "the son."

[See postscript at the end of this communication.]

18. (Scratched on the wall in the same place).

ⲁⲛⲟⲕⲁⲡⲁⲁ(?)ⲓⲁ
ⲡⲓⲉⲗⲁⲭⲏ ⲥⲩⲗⲏⲗ
ⲉⲭⲱⲓⲛⲉⲟⲛⲏⲩ
ⲥⲩⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲁⲙⲏⲛ

We have here, of course, a contraction of ἐλάχιστος. The name of the writer does not seem to have been finished.

19. (Painted on the wall, and copied by Dr. Lansing). [See postscript.]

ⲫⲟⲓⲕⲁⲙⲥⲟⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲏⲱⲥⲩ

20. (Engraved in the same place).

+ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ
ΚΟΥΑΙΛΤΕϹ

This Victor Quæltes is probably the same as the Victor of No. 12. The second name possibly stands for Quintius.

21. (Engraved in the same place).

+ ⲓ̄ⲥ̄ ⲭ̄ⲥ̄ ⲃⲱⲑⲉ̄
ⲉⲣⲏⲥ
☥ ⲁ(?)ⲩⲉ

The first line reads Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς βοηθεῖ. The use of the *crux ansata* must again be noted.

22. (Engraved outside the church).

ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲉⲣⲙⲓⲛⲟⲩ

23.[1] (Engraved outside the church, in a recess of the rock to the left. The Greek text is on the left, the Coptic text on the right, of a large and elaborate piece of sculpture representing a Maltese cross. Between the two upper arms are two birds, one in each compartment of the cross, and standing facing one another. Above them is a branch with clusters of grapes on its upper part, and large bell-shaped flowers hanging from its lower part. Similar bell-like flowers, alter-

[1] *See* postscript.

nating with crosses, hang from the horizontal arm of the cross. Underneath, in the two lower compartments of the cross, are two eagles, with wings outspread and in flight, with their backs turned to each other. Below them, at the foot of the cross, are palm-branches, two on either side. The whole cross is placed within a circle).

ⲈⲚⲐⲀⲦⲈⲔ
ⲠⲀⲠⲒⲀ[Ⲥ]
[ⲘⲈ]ⲀⲒ[ⲦⲰ]
[ⲚⲞⲤ ⲞⲒⲤⲀⲨ]
[ⲢⲒⲞⲤ....]
ⲠⲈⲚⲘⲀ
ⲢⲦⲒⲞⲨ▨
Ⲍ̄ⲒⲚⲀⲒⲔ
ⲈⲚⲦⲎ[ⲈⲨ]
ⲚⲎ ⲦⲞⲨ
ⲀⲄⲒⲞⲨ
ⲀⲠⲀⲘⲀ
ⲔⲀⲢⲒⲞⲨ
ⲈⲘⲘⲀⲚⲞⲨ
ⲎⲀ ⲀⲘⲎⲚ

† ⲡⲁⲡⲓⲁ ⲡⲱⲉ
ⲉⲙⲙⲉⲗⲓⲧⲱⲛⲟⲥ
ⲡⲱⲓⲥⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ≈ⲁⲫⲉⲙ
ⲧⲟⲛⲉⲙⲙⲟⲫⲉⲛ
ⲥⲟⲩⲙ̄ⲕⲧⲏⲉⲙ
ⲡⲁⲣⲉⲙϩⲟⲧⲡ̄
Ⲍ̄ⲓⲛⲁⲓⲕ
ⲁⲩⲕⲁⲁϥ ϩ̄ⲙ̄
ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙ̄
ⲡϩⲁⲩⲓⲟⲥ
ⲁⲡⲁⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲉ
ⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓⲱⲧ
ⲡⲱϩⲣⲉⲙⲛ̄
ⲡⲉⲡⲛ̄ⲁⲉⲧⲟⲩ
ⲁⲁⲃ † ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁ
ⲡⲁⲩⲥⲓⲥ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉϥ
ⲯⲩⲭⲏϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉϥ
ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ
ϩ̄ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛⲏ
ϩ ⲁⲙⲏⲛ
ⲉⲙⲙⲁⲛⲟⲩⲏⲗ
†

"Papias the son of Melito, the Isaurian, deceased the 20th day of Pharmuthi (Paremhot), the 7th indiction. He was buried in the holy place of the venerable Makarios. May the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost grant rest to his soul in this holy place with peace. Amen! Emmanuel!"

In the first line of the Greek it is evident that we must read ἐνθάδε κ(εῖται). Papias and Melito are both names well known in the

history of Christian Asia Minor, and the fact that an Isaurian came to die in a hermitage of Upper Egypt shows that the Mohammedan conquest of the country had not yet taken place. The Isaurians, however, did not become famous until after the accession of Leo III, the Isaurian, to the throne of Constantinople in A.D. 718. Pharmuthi answers to our March; hence its translation by Μαρτίου in the Greek text.

Inscriptions on tombstones from the old cemetery of Dêr Abû Hannes. (The stones had been used in the building of the modern village, and were bought by me.)

1. ⲧ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲙ̀ ⲡⲍⲁⲧⲓⲟⲥ
ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲟⲩⲑⲟⲥ ⲉ̄ⲕⲉ̄ⲣⲟⲩⲛⲁ
ⲙⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲯⲩⲭⲏⲙ̀ⲡⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ
ⲓⲟⲩⲥⲧⲁ · ⲛⲋ̄ ⲭⲓⲧⲟ̄ⲩ̄ⲉ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲛⲉ̄ⲡⲉⲕ
ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ ⲉ̄ⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃⲙⲛ̄ⲛ̄
ⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ · ⲛⲋ̄ ⲧⲣⲉϥⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲁ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ⲙⲉⲧⲉⲓⲥⲙⲏⲉⲧⲍⲟⲗⲥ
ⲭⲉⲃ̅ⲱⲕⲉ̄ⲍⲟⲩⲛⲉ̄ⲡⲣⲁⲱⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲕ
ⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ · ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥⲙ̄ⲧⲟⲛⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ
ⲛ̄ⲥⲓⲡ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲓⲟⲩⲥⲧⲁ · ⲛ̄
ⲥⲟⲩⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲙⲏⲛⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲃⲟⲧⲙ̄ⲯⲓⲣ
ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲓⲣⲟⲙⲡⲉⲧⲁⲓ ⲟⲕⲧⲟⲉⲥ ⲓⲏ
ⲍⲁⲙⲏⲛⲉ̄ϥⲉⲱⲡⲉ ⲧ

The prayer here is noticeable: "take him to thy heaven, the holy paradise of all the saints; suffer him to hear that sweet voice, saying: Come to the joy of thy heaven, O Lord!" The tombstone was erected to the memory of Makarios Justa, who died in the month Mekheir and the 8th year of the indiction. At the end of the last line but one H seems a mistake for N.

Saint Kolluthos may be the individual who has left his name in Nos. 14 and 16. The name, however, was not an uncommon one. Thus it is found on one of the Coptic tombstones from Philæ published by M. Bouriant in the "Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes" Vol. I, p. 65.

2. ☥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉⲙ ⲡⲁⲣ
ⲭⲁⲣⲧⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲓⲭ
ⲁⲏⲗ ⲉⲕⲁⲣⲟⲩⲛⲁ
ⲙⲛⲧⲉⲯⲩⲭⲏⲙ̄ⲡⲙ̄ⲁ
ⲕⲁⲣⲓⲗⲉⲟⲛ · ⲧⲓ(?)ⲟⲥ(?)ⲛⲧⲁⲩ
ⲙ̄ⲧⲟⲛⲙⲙⲟⲩⲛⲥⲟⲩ . . .
ⲙⲡⲁⲟⲡⲉⲛⲧⲓⲣ°ⲙⲡ[ⲉ]
ⲧⲁⲓ ⲓⲛⲁ/ ⲓⲁ =
+

The person, on behalf of whose soul the aid of "the archangel Michael" is invoked, seems to have been called Makarios Leontios or "the blessed Leontios." He died in the month Paophi of the 14th indiction.

On the right hand side of the entrance to one of the quarries, between the second ravine and the tomb of the Colossos, the following graffito has been scratched in rude capitals:—

ἡ [ἐ]κκ[λ]ησία.

There were, however, no other signs that the quarry had been used as a chapel.

Graffiti in one of the tombs at Sebêdeh which had been turned into an early Coptic church:—

1. ⲁⲣⲓⲧⲁⲣⲁ 2. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ(?)ⲟⲙⲟⲁⲛ 3. ⲛⲩⲧⲉⲣⲁⲛ

These are written one below the other. The last name, Nuteraun, seems to be derived from the old Egyptian *nuter*, "god."

4. ⲁⲣⲓⲡⲙⲏⲟⲭⲓⲡⲟⲥ(?)ⲩ(?)ⲡⲉⲉⲃⲟⲗ
[ⲗ]ⲟⲭⲗⲟⲭⲙⲟⲥ☥ⲡⲯⲏⲣⲓⲙⲓⲭⲁⲏⲗ

The name of the son of Michael would mean "hater of idleness."

I add here some miscellaneous Coptic inscriptions which may be of interest to Coptic scholars.

1. Over the screen of the underground Coptic church at Suâḍî (opposite Minieh):—

ⲭⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓⲉⲣⲫⲏ | ⲡⲧⲉⲫⲫⲓⲱⲧ
ⲭⲉⲣⲉⲡⲓⲁⲙⲓⲟⲥ | ⲁⲡⲁⲅⲟⲣⲡⲓⲩ(*sic*)ⲟⲛ(*sic*)ⲁⲭⲟⲥ

"The choir of the church of the Father, the choir of Saint Amba Hor the monk."

The inscription seems to have been restored; hence the misforms of the letters.

2. On the wall of a tomb in the district of the Sheikh Abd' el-Gurnah (Thebes) which has been turned into a Coptic chapel :—

[ⲁ]ⲛⲟⲕⲙⲣⲕⲟⲥ ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ
ϩⲁⲭⲁⲣⲓⲡ · ⲁⲑⲟⲗ
. ⲁⲛⲙ(?)...ⲁⲑ · ⲡⲁ
ⲏ(?)ⲉⲑⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉⲡⲁⲣ
ⲕⲟⲛⲙⲉⲣⲕ[ⲟⲥ]...
.. ⲟⲣⲓⲥ.....

Below this is another Coptic graffito in red paint, but so obliterated as to be quite unintelligible.

3. On a fragment of white stone from Medînet-Abû (Thebes), now in my possession :—

Face I.

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲉⲓⲧⲉⲡⲡⲣ
ⲉⲓⲋⲉⲋⲓⲁⲕ/ ⲉⲓⲧⲉ ⲫⲁⲛ ⲁⲡⲛ̄ⲩ
ⲉⲡⲛⲓⲱⲁⲭⲉⲭⲉⲫⲉⲛⲗⲁⲁⲩⲉ
ⲛⲉⲛⲧ̄ † ⲙ′ + ⲫⲧⲏⲩⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲉ
ⲡⲉⲩⲕⲣⲓⲙⲁⲛⲁⲱⲱⲡⲉⲫⲓⲭⲱⲩ
ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙⲋⲉ ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲛⲧ̄ⲩⲫⲁⲣⲉⲫⲉⲡⲛⲩⲧⲉⲛⲁⲫⲁ
ⲣⲉⲫⲉⲣⲟⲩⲉⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟⲩⲛ
. ⲓⲙⲛⲧ̄ ⲁⲩⲍⲁⲛⲉⲙ
ⲙⲟⲩⲫⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟ
ⲩⲩⲛⲓⲙ

Face II.

ⲛⲧ̄ⲕⲱⲡⲩ
ⲧⲉⲩⲉⲓⲣⲏⲛ[ⲏ] ...
ⲁⲛ(?)ⲧⲉⲡⲉⲣⲣⲏⲫⲁ
ⲭⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̀ⲁⲛⲉⲁⲩ ⲭⲍ
ⲁⲗⲗⲁⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲉⲓⲣⲉⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲩ(?).. ⲡⲁⲫ(?)
ⲛⲁⲩⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲓⲁⲧⲩⲫⲣⲁⲓⲫⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲩ
ⲫⲱⲃ

4. In large characters on another stone from the same place, also in my possession:—

Face I.	Face II.
N NTC ЄϨOYN	I ϢϪY (?) ΠMONϮϢINЄ ЄPOK
ЄKNHY ϪYѠ NC̄N	Ϯ TϪMOϨЄMMOK M
Ϩ̄ЄNϬЄPѠϦN̄ XOÏT	ЄTϦЄT ▒ T
ЄNϪNOYOY Ϯ	XЄM̄ ΠPP̄ ..Ѡ(?)ϦϢ

5. On a potsherd from Medînet-Abû, now in my possession:—

Ϯ ϪNOK
ΠЄCHNTЄ́NXBÏOY
ЄTCϨϪI ϪYѠ ЄTΠPOCKYNЄ
M̄ΠϪMЄPÏTNÏѠT ЄTOYϪϪϦ ΠϪÏѠT KϪ
ΛϪKѠC ЄTOYϪϪϦ VЄVϪPϪÏ ϦѠKϨÏTOϪ..
ϪKXOOCNϪÏXЄϨMOOCNϪK·Ϩ̄MΠMÏΛÏCϢϪΠ..
N ΘϪȲT N̄TЄNOYЄÏC Ϩ̄HTЄϪÏXÏTЄK Є(?)ϦѠϪ..
Ϩ̄MOOCN̄TЄNOY′ ΠNOYTЄCOOYN : TЄϨ̄HT..
....T̄ ϪYѠ Ф KN̄ϪÏK̄ϪNN̄N̄ϢHPЄ ϢHMЄYP▒
MN̄CѠTЄKN̄PϨѠϦϪNϪÏOYѠϢЄϦÏN̄..
ϢHM·M̄NTϪCϨÏMЄN̄TϪϦѠK ЄϨH...
KHMЄЄPH̄OȲ′ ΠNOYTЄNϪTѠϢŌYK..
..... ЄЄΠMϪϨϪCЄVЄVϪPϪÏ..
..... ÏЄΛ..
.....

6. On a wooden tablet from Medînet-Abû, now in my possession:—

CЄNΨЄNOCIPIC
ΠϪXOUMIC MHTIC(?)
TϪΠKOIMIC

7. On a red glazed potsherd from the same place, now in my possession :—

† ⲧⲁⲁⲥⲙ̄ⲡⲉⲛⲙⲁ ⲫⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉⲛⲥⲟⲛ ⲕⲁⲗⲁ
ⲡⲉⲁⲥⲛⲧⲛ̄ ⲛⲉⲥⲓⲡⲟ(?)ⲩⲛⲉⲗ ×ⲗ̄ⲗ̄
ⲁⲣ(?)ⲓ(?)..ⲛⲁⲛⲩ(?)ⲉⲡ(?)ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ
ⲕ ⲕⲗⲁ(?)ⲉⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧ̄..ⲁ
ⲃⲱⲕ ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲟⲉⲣⲟⲛ ⲣⲱ
ⲉⲧⲃⲉⲡⲏⲕⲟⲩⲓ̈ⲛⲁ ⲁ^ⲭⲉ
..ⲉⲧⲉⲭⲣⲏⲁⲧⲟ(?)
ⲧⲛⲧⲁ....
ⲉⲣⲟ..

8. On an ostrakon from the same place, now in my possession :—

....ⲁⲡⲣⲁⲩ ⲡ(?)ⲗ(?)..ⲱⲩ...ⲡⲡ(?)ⲫⲙ..ⲙ...
ⲡⲉⲡⲛⲁ̄ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲧⲉⲓⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲣ̄ⲫⲱⲃ
ⲟⲩ ⲥⲓⲟⲥⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲕⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ ⲙ̄ⲛ ⲡⲥ̄ⲱⲗ
ⲉⲧ ⲥⲫⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲡⲫⲗⲗⲟ ⲭⲉ ⲉⲡⲉⲁⲏ ⲁⲛⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁ
ⲁⲉⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲱⲟⲡⲛ̄ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ̄ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ...
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲕⲫⲱ..ⲁⲕⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲃ[1]ⲁⲭⲓ ⲥⲫⲁⲓ̈
ⲛⲧⲱⲩⲧⲛ̄ ⲉⲧⲙⲡⲱⲣⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̇ⲙⲟⲕ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲛ̄
ⲙⲟⲩ : ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲉ ⲧⲛ̄ ⲫⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲕⲉ ⲫⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛ
ⲧⲁ ⲡⲣⲟ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲫⲙ̄ ⲡⲉⲛⲫⲏⲧ ⲧⲏⲣ̄ⲭⲉⲧⲙ̄ⲡⲱⲣⲝ̄
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲕ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲛ̄ ⲙⲟⲩ : ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲧⲱⲛ
.....ⲙⲛ̄ⲥⲱⲕ ⲫⲙ̄ ⲫⲱⲃ ⲛⲱⲓ(*sic*)ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲧⲛ̄ⲥ̄ ⲟⲁⲓ̈
.....ⲉⲛ̄ ⲧⲛ̄ ⲣⲁⲧ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲛⲥⲱⲕ ⲫⲛ̄ ⲭ(?)..
.... ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲧⲛ̄ ⲥ̄ⲟⲙ ⲛⲙ̄ⲧⲁⲩ
.....ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲕ ⲛ̄ⲧ.....
.....

[1] Possibly ⲙ̄ⲣ.

Copies made by Mr. E. A. W. Budge:—

1 †ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲉⲡⲓⲁ [illegible]

ⲡⲓⲉⲗⲁⲭⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲉⲩⲥⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲩ

ⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲩ[illegible] ⲉⲡⲓⲁⲏ

ⲁⲣⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲣⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲧⲡⲁⲧⲉⲣ

[illegible]ⲉⲥⲓⲟⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲧⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲧⲁⲁⲩ ⲙ̅

ⲯⲓⲕⲟⲥⲧ[illegible]ⲡ(?)ⲓⲥ ⲉⲡⲧⲓ[illegible]ⲥⲓⲟⲛ ⲁⲩⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲭⲉ

[illegible]ⲁⲣⲃⲱⲙ ⲉⲩⲭⲱ[illegible]ⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ ⲟⲧⲧⲱ ⲓⲍⲏ ⲣ̅ ⲃⲣ̅ⲣⲉ

ⲡⲉⲡⲧⲁⲧⲧⲁⲣⲉϥ ⲉⲡ̅ ⲣ[illegible]ⲁⲡⲏ ⲁⲧⲱⲟⲛ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲭ(?)

ⲭⲱ[illegible]ⲉ(?)ⲓⲍⲟⲗ ⲉⲣⲟϥ ⲛⲑⲁⲗⲉⲍ ⲉ[illegible]ⲁϥ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ

ⲭⲓⲧⲟ̅ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲟ̅ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲧⲱⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲛⲑⲩⲕⲏⲛ(?)

ⲙ̅ⲡⲛⲁⲩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲣⲁⲭⲟⲟⲩⲥⲟⲧⲱ(?) ⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲙ̅

ⲡⲉⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲣⲁⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲥⲟⲩ ⲥⲛⲧⲟ̅ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲗⲉⲣ(?)

ⲙ̅ⲡⲁⲧⲉ ⲕⲁ[illegible]ⲟⲩⲗ ⲃⲱⲕ ⲛⲁⲩ. ⲁⲛⲟⲕ

ⲉⲡⲱⲭ ⲡⲓⲉⲗⲁⲭⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ † ⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲣⲱⲉ[illegible](?)ⲁⲧ(?)ⲉ(?)

ⲑⲣⲓⲙⲓⲁ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉ ⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲙ̅ⲡⲕⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲣ

ⲙ[illegible]ⲟⲩⲟⲓ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲕⲁ[illegible]ⲟⲩⲗ ⲛⲑ̅

ⲟⲩⲱ(?) ⲣⲑ̅ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓ(?)ⲟⲩⲓ ⲡⲟ(?)ⲉⲓⲕ[illegible]

ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲛⲧⲁⲕⲟⲭⲉⲁ[illegible]ⲛ[illegible]

ⲣⲟⲥⲙⲱⲡⲉⲟⲩⲭ[illegible]

ⲉ[illegible] ⲭⲟⲉ[illegible]

II. ⲉϥ(?)ⲱⲃⲉ
ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲁⲗⲓ
ⲛⲉⲕⲟⲥⲉⲓ[1]ⲛⲉ
ϩⲃⲟⲥ ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ
ⲣⲁⲥⲧⲉⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓ̈
ⲙⲙⲟⲛ̄ⲉⲓ ⲉⲣϩⲱⲃ
ⲛⲁⲥⲁⲙⲙⲟⲩⲏⲗ
ⲡⲥⲁⲩ ⲫⲟⲩⲭⲁ
ⲧⲁⲁⲥ ⲛⲁⲥⲟⲛ
ⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲏⲥ ϩⲓ
ⲉ▒▒▒ⲉⲃⲑⲁ
▒▒▒▒▒▒ⲛⲫ

[1] Or ⲏ.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since the above was written I have paid two other visits to the quarries of Deir Abu Hannes, and the tombs of what Murray's Guide-book calls Isbayda or Sebêdeh, but the true name of which is the Gebel Sheikh Sayyîd. I have now thoroughly explored the cliffs from this point northward to Antinoë. I hope soon to offer a paper on the history of early Christianity in Upper Egypt, based upon the inscriptions and other monuments I have discovered there. Behind Deir Abu Hannes I have found many more inscriptions, and have revised the hasty copies made during my first visit. The following corrections are necessary in Nos. 17, 19 and 23. In No. 17 line 4, read Π for ⲃ; line 7, the strangely-formed letter seems to be ⲁ, followed by ⲣ; line 8, at end, read ⲛⲃⲩ(?); line 10, ⲱⲥ for ϥⲁ. In No. 23 the first line of the Greek ends with ΚΑΤΑΚΙΤΕΙ; then comes, (2) ΠΑΠΙϪCM(ЄΛΙ), (3) ΤѠΝΟC[ΟΙ], (4) CϪΥΡΙ[ΟC, (5) (6) (7) ΠЄΝϪΜΑΡ, (8) ΤΙΟΥ Ī. At the end of line 10, ЄΥ is still visible. No. 19 should be: (ο)ⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ(ο)ⲁⲩⲓⲟⲥ ⲫⲟⲓⲃⲁⲙⲱⲛ ⲡⲣⲉϥⲱϣ . . ϣⲗⲏⲗ ⲉⲭⲱⲓ // ϥ̄ⲑ̄ // ⳿.

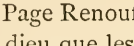
The following Communication has been received from M. E. Lefébure:—

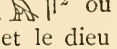
SUR UN SYLLABIQUE.

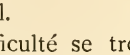
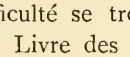
I.

M. Le Page Renouf lit *ames* ou *amesi*[1] le syllabique qui représente le nom du dieu que les égyptologues appellent habituellement Khem.

Cette lecture, si elle était juste, ne donnerait pas un mauvais sens; ou étant le nom d'un sceptre attaché à un fouet, et le dieu ayant d'ordinaire un fouet à la main, *ames-i* signifierait alors le fonetteur, *μαστιγοφόρος*, et c'est à peu près ainsi que se le représentait Suidas,[4] quand il le dépeignait comme fouettant la lune. Mais la lecture *ames* est-elle acceptable?

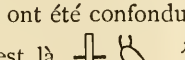
Tout d'abord, il faut écarter la forme , que Mr. W. Budge[5] a cru rencontrer sur une stèle publiée aux *Denkmaeler*, mais où il est clair que *àm-s* signifie *celui qui est en elle*, c'est-à-dire dans le ciel.

La difficulté se trouve ailleurs: elle gît tout entière dans un passage du Livre des Morts, ch. 17, l. 11 et 12, où certains textes anciens que vient de réunir M. Naville dans son édition du Todtenbuch thébain, ont  et  au lieu de .[6] M. le Page Renouf admet que est là pour , et fonde sa lecture sur cette assimilation.

Pourtant, les deux signes ne sont pas des variantes l'un de l'autre. Ils ont été quelquefois confondus, comme dans un texte où le tombeau de Séti I a [7] et le sarcophage du même roi .[8] *Leurs offrandes sont auprès de celui qui est en elle.* Mais le fait est rare, et on remarquera que les papyrus qui donnent la variante  n'ont pas pour la syllabe

[1] "Transactions," t. viii, part 2, p. 204, et "Zeitschrift," 1877, p. 98.
[2] "Todtenbuch," ch. 149, *passim*.
[3] Lepsius, "Aelteste Texte," pl. 38.
[4] S. V. Priapos.
[5] "Transactions," t. viii, part 3, pp. 305 et 318.
[6] Naville, "Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch," ii, 41.
[7] Champollion, "Notices," t. i, p. 792, l. 26–9.
Sharpe et Bonomi, "The Alabaster Sarcophagus," 4, B.

àm, , non plus que le sarcophage de Mentuhotep[1] et un texte qui est aux "Denkmaeler:"[2] ils distinguent les deux signes. Donc  n'est pas .

Les deux signes ont été confondus dans un seul papyrus pour le nom du dieu, qui est là  et ,[3] mais que faut-il conclure à priori de ce fait isolé, sinon que le scribe du papyrus a été seul ici à prendre un hiéroglyphe pour un autre? Pareille confusion avait lieu de temps en temps entre des signes qui se ressemblent: on trouve encore, dans les belles publications de M. Naville, des cas de méprise entre et ou ,[4] ce qui ne veut certainement pas dire que ou puissent se lire *χem* ou *seχem*.

On pourrait répondre que c'est le papyrus unique dont il s'agit qui possède la vraie leçon, bien que l'argument ait contre lui toute vraisemblance, mais il ne saurait tenir, en outre, devant les considérations suivantes:

Un surnom du dieu Khem est bien certainement ,[5] titre que M. de Rougé a signalé depuis longtemps,[6] et dont M. Pierret a cité les variantes et .[7] Or, on trouve le groupe , , aux Textes d'Edfou, où il désigne dans le second cas un dieu de la pêche, . *maître des oiseaux et des poissons, aux provisions nombreuses*, .[8]

[1] Lepsius, "Aelteste Texte," 7, 32, et 8, 67 et 76.

[2] iii, 38, *e*.

[3] Naville, "Todtenbuch," ii, 41.

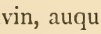
[4] *Id.*, 73, 74, et 444; *cf.* Naville, "Transactions," t. viii, part 3, p. 416; et "Denkmaeler," iii, 262, *a*, 4.

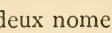
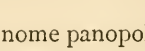
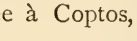
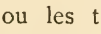
[5] Naville, "Todtenbuch," ii, 41.

[6] "Études sur le Rituel," p. 47; et "Mélanges d'Archéologie," 3e fascicule p. 104.

[7] "Vocabulaire hiéroglyphique," p. 381.

[8] J. de Rougé, "Edfou," t. i, pl. 40, 14, et t. ii, pl. 102, 19.

Ce type divin, auquel on peut rattacher un  infernal,[1] n'est autre évidemment que le dieu Khem, signalé comme dieu pêcheur dans ses deux nomes, par différents noms géographiques.

Le *pehu* du nome panopolite était , la *pêche de Khem*, le canal du nome coptite était , et le mouillage de la barque sacrée à Coptos, . On remarquera que les caravanes ou les troupes qui allaient de Coptos à la Mer Rouge devaient être accompagnées de *pêcheurs*, comme l'indique une stèle de Ramsès IV.[2] D'après les Textes du Mythe d'Horus,[3] Khem possédait un , typique, et le mot *ȧḥ* qui pourrait désigner le collier ,[4] a certainement aussi le sens de filet,[5] comme le montre le texte d'une scène de Karnak.[6] Ramsès II, précédé par Num et suivi par Horus, tire avec eux la corde d'un filet devant Thoth, qui dit : *tire ta nasse, tes mains sur la corde du filet* , *avec tes deux frères*  (*cf.* , *filet*,[7] et [8] *tresse*). Le  de Khem est probablement l'objet de forme analogue parfois représenté[9] en combinaison ou non avec , derrière le dieu, qui en est dit le maître.[10] Le , devenu une sorte de mât de cocagne, , dans les jeux gymniques[11] exécutés devant Khem,[12] serait le pieu auquel on attachait le filet, et auquel on donnait des formes très variées.[13]

[1] Tombeau de Ramsès 6, troisième Corridor, Paroi gauche.

[2] Stèle de Hamamat, l. 16. [3] 2, 1 et 7, 1.

[4] "Denkmaeler," iv, 90, *d*. [5] *Cf.* Pierret, "Vocabulaire," 44.

[6] Champollion, "Monuments," iii, 287 ; et "Notices," ii, 42.

[7] Brugsch, "Dictionnaire," 922. [8] Brugsch, "Dictionnaire," 128.

[9] "Denkmaeler," ii, 149 *c*, 151 *k*, iii, 275 *c*, etc. ; Champollion, "Monuments," iii, 211, et 288 ; Prisse d'Avennes, "Monuments égyptiens," 6 et 8, etc.

[10] "Denkmaeler," iii, 283. [11] *Cf.* Hérodote, ii, 91.

[12] "Denkmaeler," iv, 42 *b*.

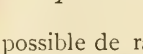
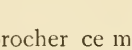
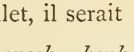
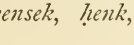
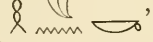
[13] *Cf.* Champollion, "Notices," ii, 380 ; et de Rougé, "Études sur le Rituel funéraire," pl. 4 et 5.

Mais quand même le dieu Khem n'aurait pas été le pêcheur Heqes, il n'en resterait pas moins vrai, d'après les deux exemples cités plus haut, que le groupe *ḥeqes* pouvait recevoir le signe  pour déterminatif, et par suite pour syllabique, conformément aux lois de l'écriture. C'est ce qui est arrivé au ch. 17 du Todtenbuch, où l'on trouve dans le même papyrus  et .[1] La valeur *ḥeqes* de l'hiéroglyphe a été signalée depuis longtemps par M. J. de Rougé dans le nom d'un *Peḥu*, celui du 8e nome de la Haute Egypte, lequel touchait au nome panopolite : les variantes donnent et ou .[2]

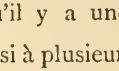
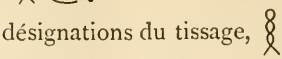
Puis donc qu'on trouve au Livre des Morts accompagné de son complément phonétique et même remplacé par , on est forcé de conclure que vaut bien là *ḥeqes*, phonétique déjà connu du signe, et surnom déjà connu du dieu. La lecture *ḥeqes* étant fondée, la lecture contradictoire *âmes* fournie par un seul texte ne saurait plus être défendue.

II.

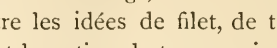
Il se peut que , qui détermine tant de mots différents,[3] entre autres un nom d'habit,[4] représente ici quelque engin de pêche, un filet, par exemple, puisqu'il accompagne les mots  et , signifiant *filet* et *pêcher*.[5]

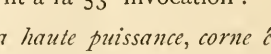
Si le *ḥeqes* était un filet, il serait possible de rapprocher ce mot de la racine *ḥenkes*, *ḥensek*, *ḥenk*, , , ,[6] qui veut dire *tresse de cheveux*, de même que *Šennu* signifiant à la fois *chevelure* et *filet*. *Ḥenkes* serait une forme nasalisée de *ḥeqes*, comme  est une forme nasalisée de .[7]

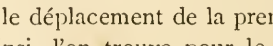
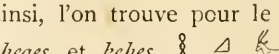
[1] Naville, "Todtenbuch," ii, 41.
[2] "Revue archéologique," 1867, pp. 335, 336; *cf.* "Edfou," 20 et 51.
[3] *Cf.* Grand Papyrus Harris, *passim*.
[4] Schiaparelli, "Il Libro dei Funerali," i, p. 68.
[5] Todtenbuch, ch. 113, 3; *cf.* Naville, "Todtenbuch," ii, 74 et 453.
[6] Naville, "Todtenbuch," ii, 150 et 222.
[7] Brugsch, "Dictionnaire," p. 971; et Pierret, "Vocabulaire," p. 365.

On remarquera ici que dans les deux cas la lettre *s* ne semble pas faire partie de la racine,[1] puisqu'il y a une forme  pour le titre du dieu, qui se rattache ainsi à plusieurs noms de l'Ancien Empire,[2] et une forme  pour le nom de la tresse, qui se rattache ainsi à une des désignations du tissage, .[3]

Strabon dit qu'autrefois la population de Panopolis se composait en partie de tisserands. Ainsi Khem aurait été, dans ses deux nomes, le dieu des tisserands comme des pêcheurs. Si l'on se rappelle que *seχet* signifie à la fois *filet* et *tissage*, on ne s'étonnera pas de la relation signalée ici entre les idées de filet, de tissage et même de chevelure : au fond, c'est la notion de tresse qui est en jeu.

La disparition de l'*s*, dont il vient d'être parlé, explique deux mots cités par M. Brugsch dans le Supplément de son Dictionnaire,[4] , qui signifie *pêcher* et , qui est en rapport avec la chevelure. Le dernier mot explique lui-même une expression de la Litaine solaire, où on lit à la 53e invocation :

Salut à toi, Ra, à la haute puissance, corne étincelante, croissant des étoiles, ,[5] *boucle de la coiffure* (*cf.* la boucle en demi-cercle *χens*, et le dieu lunaire Khons).

Dans la forme *kẖa*, le déplacement de la première lettre n'aurait rien que d'ordinaire : ainsi, l'on trouve pour le nom de la chèvre sauvage les variantes *ḥeqes* et *kẖes*, [6] et , mots qui nous ramènent directement au surnom *ḥeqsi* du dieu Khem.

On vénérait en effet dans une des deux villes du dieu, à Coptos, la dorcas femelle, suivant le témoignage d'Elien,[7] confirmé par les

[1] *Cf.* Brugsch, "Dictionnaire," p. 971.

[2] *Cf.* Lieblein, "Dictionnaire des noms propres," Nos. 248, 371, 383, 551, 552, etc.

[3] Champollion, "Notices," ii, pp. 340 et 361.

[4] p. 857 et 859.

[5] Naville, "La Litanie du Soleil," p. 60.

[6] Pierret, "Vocabulaire hiéroglyphique," p. 381 ; et Lieblein, "Die Aegyptische Denkmaeler," pl. 33, No. 50.

[7] "Hist. Anim.," x, 23.

médailles des nomes.[1] Or, le copte ϭⲁϩϣⲓ, ϭⲟϩϣⲉ, ϭϩⲟⲥ, *caprea*, *dama*, *gemella*, dérivé de *ḥeqes* ou *ḳehes* comme ϭⲁϩ de , *damula*,[2] est féminin, et c'est très vraisemblablement par suite d'un jeu de mots sur le nom du dieu et le nom de l'animal que la chèvre a été consacrée à *Ḥeqes*.

Elien ajoute que la dorcas était chère à Isis. Elle représentait sans doute la sœur *jumelle* de la déesse, Nephthys, femme du dieu Set à tête de gazelle;[3] il y a au Livre de l'Hémisphère inférieur, à la première division, une Nephthys, , appelée *la chèvre sauvage*, .[4]

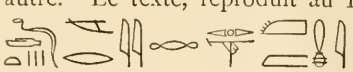
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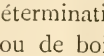
Si l'on examine maintenant les variantes du nom même de Khem, une nouvelle question se présente. Faut-il ramener à la lecture *ḥeqes* ou *ḥeqs-i*, comme l'a fait dans un cas M. de Rougé, les formes du sarcophage de Mentuhotep,[5] du Ramesséum,[6] ,[7] ,[8] et [9] des papyrus funéraires? Cela n'est pas probable *à priori*, puisqu'il faudrait alors attribuer au syllabique  la valeur *ḥeqes* et rejeter la lecture *χem*.

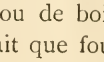
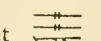
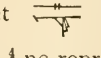
De ces formes, la première se réduit à , *χem* (ou plutôt *χem-i*), comme l'a compris le Dr. Lepsius,[10] car l'*à* appartient là au groupe précédent, , écrit  pour , avec la suppression du petit trait qui est fréquente dans ce texte quand les

[1] J. de Rougé, "Monnaies des Nomes," p. 12–4.
[2] Brugsch, "Supplément au Dictionnaire," p. 1305.
[3] *Cf.* Langlois, "Numismatique des Nomes," Nome Coptite.
[4] Denkmaeler, III, 224, 1; *cf.* "Description de l'Egypte," Atlas, v, 41.
[5] Lepsius, "Aelteste Texte," 1, 7.
[6] De Rougé, "Mélanges d'Archéologie," fascicule 3, p. 104.
[7] Naville, "Todtenbuch," t. ii, 329.
[8] *Id.*, 381; et Lepsius, "Aelteste Texte," p. 35.
[9] Naville, "Todtenbuch," ii, 381.
[10] Pl. 9, l. 7; *cf.* "Aelteste Texte," p. 32.

lettres sont serrées.[1] Le groupe  doit se lire aussi *Horà-Khem-ti*, et non *Hor-Akhem-ti*.

En second lieu, la forme  est une fausse lecture de M. de Rougé, réunissant le déterminatif d'un mot au syllabique d'un autre. Le texte, reproduit au Rameséum et à Médinet-Abou, est ,[3] d'où il suit que ne représente là que le déterminatif bien connu du mot *meri*, qui désigne une espèce d'arbre ou de bois. Quant à , qui visiblement est pour , il ne fait que fournir un exemple de la confusion des signes allongés.

Enfin, , et dont il existe une curieuse variante au papyrus de Neb-qed,[4] ne représentent qu'un redoublement graphique du syllabique : en effet, le mot *Khem*, souvent écrit ,[5] se rendait par aussi bien que par , autre forme de l'objet.

Jamais on n'a trouvé le *surnom*  ou accompagné du support , qui au contraire accompagne si souvent le *nom* , qu'il y a des cas où le simple mot *support* s'écrit .[6] *Heqsi* n'est donc pas une variante phonétique du syllabique, mais une variante mythologique du dieu, au même titre qu'Horus et Ammon[7] dans le rôle obscène où se réunissaient quelquefois ces trois types divins, comme à Edfou : .[8] Baba aurait pu aussi alterner avec Khem, d'après la variante .[9] On trouve fréquemment l'échange entre eux des noms ou des épithètes d'un dieu dans les exemplaires du Livre des Morts,

[1] *Cf. id.*, pl. 1, l. 28.

[2] Lieblein, "Dictionnaire des noms propres," No. 1065.

[3] *Cf.* Champollion, "Monuments," iii, 213; Rosellini, "I Monumenti dell' Egitto," iii, 75 et 85; et "Denkmaeler," iii, 163 et 212.

[4] Pl. 9, l. 7.

[5] *Cf.* Lepsius, "Aelteste Texte," p. 52; Naville, "Todtenbuch," ii, 41 et 381; Grand papyrus Harris, 61, a, 12, etc.

[6] Naville, "Todtenbuch," ii, 113 et 193.

[7] Le Page Renouf, "Transactions," t. viii, part 2, p. 204.

[8] "Edfou," ii, 103.

[9] Tombeau de Ramsès 9, Troisième Corridor, Paroi droite.

par exemple Unnefer pour Osiris,[1] Anubis pour Ap-ua-t-u,[2] Ra pour Tum,[3] Horus pour Bak,[4] etc.

Il ne reste plus à expliquer que la forme indiquée par le redoublement du syllabique ou bien par la finale *ti*, dans , , et .

Ici, l'emploi simultané de deux représentations un peu différentes du même signe n'a rien de contraire aux lois du système graphique ; c'est ce qu'on remarque dans , , , , , ,[5]  (Hathor),  pour , , , , accompagnant différents mots,  quand ce groupe est déterminé ou exprimé par une figure spéciale pour chaque chapelle,[6] etc.

Mais cette répétition du signe, et la finale  dont les variantes [7] et [8] ont retenu chacune une lettre, indiquent-elles un suffixe, ou bien un redoublement du mot, *χemχem* ou *χemem?* Les deux explications peuvent se soutenir. Voici toutefois quelques remarques à l'appui de la seconde.

Une forme redoublée *χemem* paraît s'être conservée dans la prononciation grecque *χέμμις*,[9] du nom de Panopolis (originairement distincte de *χεμβ* pour *χeb*), dans la prononciation copte ⲭⲙⲓⲙ, ϣⲙⲓⲙ,[10] du même nom, en égyptien , dans la prononciation arabe du même nom encore *Akhmim*, *Akhmin*, et dans la dernière prononciation égyptienne du nom de Khem, *Min*,

[1] Naville, "Todtenbuch," ii, 29.

[2] *Id.*, 114. [3] *Id.*, 23 et 63. [4] *Id.*, 198.

[5] "Todtenbuch," ch. 145, 4.

[6] Naville, "Todtenbuch," ii, 83 ; "Textes relatifs au mythe d'Horus," 19, 3 ; J. de Rougé, "Edfou," 101, 15 et 102, 16, etc.

[7] Lepsius, "Aelteste Texte," 1, 7 ; Lieblein, "Dictionnaire des noms propres," No. 1304, et p. 470 ; Maspero, "Sur quelques papyrus du Louvre," p. 88 ; et "Zeitschrift," 1865, p. 5.

[8] Naville, "Todtenbuch," ii, 381.

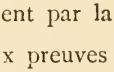
[9] Hérodote, ii, 91, et Plutarque, "d'Is. et d'Os.," 14 ; *cf.* Diodore, i, 18.

[10] Champollion, "l'Egypte sous les Pharaons," i 65.

le Pamulès de Plutarque d'après M. Ebers.[1] La forme *Min*, qui semble un archaïsme,[2] rappelle peut-être moins le nom d'Ammon qu'une forme *χmim*, *χmin*, avec chute de la gutturale aspirée.

Cette chute s'observe dans *Num* pour *χnum*, nom du dieu d'Eléphantine, à l'époque pharaonique,[3] et à l'époque grecque dans Armaios[4] pour Armakhis, nom du sphinx de Gizeh (*cf.* dans Eratosthène,[5] *χνοῦβος* pour *nub*, l'*or*).

Plutarque donne aussi à Horus le surnom de *Kaimin*, avec le sens de *ce qui est visible*, Καίμιν, *ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὁρώμενον*,[6] par allusion sans doute aux apparitions du dieu que signalent le nom de sa fête , l'apparition, et le témoignage d'Hérodote, *τὸν Περσέα φαίνεθαι, ὁ Περσεὺς ἐπιφαίνεθαι*.[7] S'il faut accepter le rapprochement fait entre Kaimin et Min par le Dr. Lepsius[8] (qui lit *καὶ* Μίν), cette transcription indiquera encore un redoublement. On remarque une semblable tendance au redoublement dans les mots égyptiens, coptes, hébreux, et arabes, ayant une même racine *χem*, et désignant la chaleur.

Ainsi, le Pan égyptien avait pour surnom l'épithète de Heqs-i, signifiant sans doute *le Pêcheur*, et c'est là tout ce qu'on peut conclure des variantes qui ont été discutées. Rien ne porte atteinte à la prononciation *χem* de son véritable nom, démontrée, non pas assurément par la variante  d'un papyrus peu correct,[9] mais par deux preuves qu'on peut dire irréfutables: d'abord les milliers d'exemples qui prouvent la valeur *χem* du syllabique  (*cf.* ),[10] syllabique qu'on n'a aucune raison pour regarder comme un polyphone; ensuite, la transcription grecque Χέμμις et Χεμμώ de , Panopolis, ville *éponyme* de Khem: *πόλιν ἐπώνυμον, κατὰ τὴν Θηβαΐδα καλουμένην μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων* Χεμμὼ, *μεθερμηνευομένην δέ Πανὸς πόλιν*.[11]

[1] "Zeitschrift," 1868, 10.
[2] *Cf.* Maspero, "Zeitschrift," 1882, p. 129.
[3] *Cf.* De Rougé, "Chrestomathie," i, 95.
[4] Diodore, I, 64.
[5] "Le Syncelle," i, 190.
[6] "Traité d'Isis et d'Osiris," 56.
[7] II, 91.
[8] "Aelteste Texte," p. 34.
[9] Lepsius, "Aelteste Texte," p. 34.
[10] Brugsch, "Géographie," i, No. 977; *cf.* Champ., "Notices," i, p. 233.
[11] Diodore, I, 18.

En soumettant cette discussion à la sagacité de M. Le Page Renouf, qui rend de si grands services à l'étude de la religion égyptienne, sera-t-il permis de le féliciter incidemment sur son curieux article relatif à l'expression Unnefer, et de lui demander à ce sujet si le lièvre Osiris[1] ne serait pas dans certains cas, par allusion au rôle lunaire du dieu (*cf.* ), ce lièvre que tant de mythologies voient dans la lune qui a l'air en effet de dormir la nuit comme le lièvre, *les yeux ouverts ?*[2]

Mr. Cope Whitehouse made the following Communication in regard to a volume presented by him to the Society :—

Researches in the Mœris Basin.

In November and December, 1881, I prepared a map on a scale of 1 : 250,000 on which I put all the Greek and Latin texts relating to Lake Mœris, another, of the Fayoum and desert to the south, with Arabic designations, a hieroglyphic map from the papyri, 1 and 2, of Boulaq, Greek and hieroglyphic sections across the Fayoum and down the Nile to the Pyramids, facsimiles of two Ptolemaic maps of Egypt in Latin (1478) and Italian (1480), with modern maps and sections of Middle and Lower Egypt. Although lithographed, they were intended for my own use, in the solution of the problem of Lake Mœris, and to furnish copies to those *savants*, geographers, or local officials and Arab shêkhs who might thus be stimulated to criticize and aid. The stones have been destroyed. In June, 1882, on my return to Paris, after four months spent on the Nile, in the Fayoum and in the desert between lat. 29° and 30°, the *Revue Archéologique* published an article in which I pointed out the errors of the current theory in regard to Lake Mœris, started by M. Linant de Bellefonds. The Society of Biblical Archæology accepted a communication on the same subject, and it was published in the June *Proceedings*. It was accompanied by an autograph map

[1] *Cf.* Maspero, "Guide au Musée de Boulaq," p. 273.

[2] *Cf.* Plutarque, "Quæstion. Convivalium," iv, 5, 2.

1 : 1,000,000 and three sections in lat. 30°, 29° 20′, and 29° 5′. At precisely the same time the French War Office published a map of Middle Egypt, entitled, "Carte Hydrographique de la Moyenne Egypte, gravée au depôt de la guerre en 1854, d'après les travaux de M. Linant de Bellefonds, revue et complétée en 1882 pour les chemins de fers, Juillet, 1882," on a scale of 1 : 250,000. In a marginal note it was said: "Le mémoire publié par M. Linant sur le lac Mœris, donne tous les éclaircissements désirables sur ce point de l'histoire ancienne de l'Egypte." The memoir to which the cartographer referred was that of 1842. In 1872–3, however, another edition of this memoir admitted that we were far from having all the information desirable, and that a grave error had been made in the relative level of the Fayoum and the Nile. The Ptolemaic maps and my conjectural restoration of Mœris in 1881 give a basin below high Nile to the south-west and west of the Fayoum. No such depression had ever appeared upon a modern map, with one curious exception. In 1728, d'Anville prepared a manuscript map of Egypt, which, executed with exquisite skill, is preserved in the Bibliothêque Nationale. This "carte de la Peninsule d'Arabie et des autres pays situés sur la Mer Rouge et sur le golfe Persique, dressée sur une étude particulière, tant des geographes Orientaux que des voyageurs modernes, et même avec le secours de l'ancienne geographie; Avril, 1728," represents a lake, intimating fairly enough the direction and area of that Raian basin, which was published for the first time in 1882, on the map of this Society. D'Anville unfortunately, on further consideration, determined to exclude many facts stated by the ancient geographers. In this case he abandoned a correct opinion, moved, it is true, by an erroneous nomenclature, and misconception of the Gharaq basin and lake, due to Paul Lucas. The British War Office published its map of Middle Egypt, "compiled at the Intelligence Branch, in 1882, principally from the surveys made by the Egyptian General Staff and Mr. John Fowler, C.E." These two official maps, therefore, with current text-books on Egypt, may be taken to represent the state of information at that date. The French War Office expressly states that the difference between the Birket el-Qeroun and the Nile is 22 metres. This had been corrected in 1872–3 by M. Linant, and the correction repeated by Dr. Schweinfurth, 1880, and Mr. Laurence Oliphant, 1881–2, but the error was too deeply rooted to be readily acknowledged. My section of lat. 29° 20′

has been shown to be accurate by recent lines of levels, which give −40·071 metres for the surface of the Birket in April 1885 and +27·12 metres for the Bahr Jousuf at the entrance of the Fayoum. No one had ever penetrated into the desert to the west-south-west of the Qasr Qeroun until my *reconnaisance* of March 3rd, 1882. Its results were adopted by the Dutch Academy of Sciences on its map of 1884. In the *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde, zu Berlin*, No. 116, 1885, Dr. P. Ascherson published a map with an article entitled, "Bemerkungen zur Karte meiner Reise nach der Kleinen Oase." He said, "Dieser Plateaurand wird der von Cope Whitehouse entworfenen und seinen englischen Publikationen von 1882 (*Proc. Bib. Arch. Soc.*, London, 1882, p. 131) beigegebenen Kartenskizze mit dem von mir gesehenen Nordwest-Rande des Uādi Rajān, in unmittelbaren Zusammenhang gebracht; da seine Zeichnung des letzteren gut mit meinen Wahrnehmungen stimmt so wurde diese Darstellung adoptiert (p. 128). Am 3. März, 1882, drang der Reisende auf einem 20 stündigen Wüstenritt bis zu dem von Gyps glitzernden Inselberge Haram Medūret el-Barhl an dieser Stelle zum ersten Mal in das Depressionsgebiet ein (p. 129)."

A map on a larger scale, including the surveys of 1883, was redrawn by me for "Engineering," September 11th, 1885, and another for the *Proc. of the Royal Geographical Society* (November, 1885). In January, 1886, Dr. Schweinfurth explored this basin with the results stated at length in the *Zeitschrift of the Berlin Geographical Society*, Vol. XXI, No. 122, 1886. His visit was described by Dr. Ascherson on March 18th, in the *National-Zeitung*, under the title "Cope Whitehouse's Hypothese über den Mœris-See und G. Schweinfurth's Reise zur Prüfung derselben." From the summit of the precipitous cliff which separates on the south the western basin from that traversed by the route to the Little Oasis he looked over the greater part of the depression. He climbed "die 100 Meter hohe vorspringende Ecke auf der Nordseite, die ich schlechtweg das Cap Rajān genannt habe. Von der in einen spitzen Winkel auslaufenden Plateauhalbinsel eröffnet sich ein sehr weiter Fernblick nach allen Richtungen, am unbeschränkesten in der nach Nordosten, bis auf einige 70 Kilometer. Man überschaut hier mit einem Blicke das Mœrisbassin von Cope Whitehouse in einer Ausdehnung wie es dieser selbst nicht so gross geahnt" (p. 118). On the map published by this Society it was my purpose to give only so much of the depression as would be filled with water if it were connected with

the Nile, and the shore which might be used by the fishermen. Dr. Schweinfurth gives a map on the scale of 1 : 500,000, which includes the Fayoum. The map is a valuable addition to the cartography of Egypt. It is in no sense final. It lacks contours. There is nothing to show, for example, that Tamieh in the north-east Fayoum is 30 feet below the sea, while the cultivation of the Nile Valley in the same latitude is 80 feet above the Mediterranean. It contains the line of levels run by Mr. Stadler in my expedition of February 8–19th (1886).

Upon my arrival in Egypt in January, 1886, the Under-Secretary of State and the Bureau of Irrigation recognizing the extreme importance of the Raian basin for the regulation of the Nile, detailed this experienced engineer, with a staff, to accompany me. A line of levels was run with great accuracy. A point—not the lowest—was reached near the western foot of the Cleft Rock, and determined to be −12·082 metres; the summit at +89·626 metres fairly accords with the +225 feet of my map of 1882. In April I returned to this valley with Colonel Ardagh, C.B., R.E., whose interest had been excited in 1883, and whose rare skill in cartography has been shown in many countries and in the recent maps of the British operations near Tel el-Kebir. The various photographs of the scant vegetation at and in the Oasis of Raian el-Kebir, at the Ain Raian, and of the absolutely sterile valley by which they are approached from Gharaq, are an instructive study when compared with the fertile plateaux of the Fayoum and its important capital. Although a considerable area in the Wadi Raian is cultivable, yet it would be short-sighted in the extreme for the Egyptian Government to allow it to be taken up and settled until my proposal that the entire depression should be converted into a reservoir of water has been fully considered. A canal not exceeding five miles in length, partly by tunnel or wholly by open cut, would put this basin into communication with the Fayoum and Nile Valley at the level of low Nile. The annual supply of a thousand milliard of cubic metres of water would be of indescribable value. The marshes of the Delta cover 2,000 square miles, and the simultaneous process of filling the Raian Basin and draining Edkou, Bourlos and Menzaleh is one that would commend itself in theory. History avers and the map shows that each great canal in the drainage system of Lower Egypt once led to the sea. The Mediterranean lagoons are studded with ruins of considerable towns.

The Wadi Moéleh.

On my maps of 1882, and 1885, the Wadi Raian is represented as continuing to the south-east. It is marked as a "valley hitherto unexplored." Sir G. Wilkinson gave a description of a valley "about fifteen miles to the south-east of Wadée Réján," but it was not sketched on any recent map in an intelligible manner. It was surveyed by Dr. Schweinfurth, and subsequently by Mr. Stadler. It is about ten miles long and three wide, and is connected with the Raian Basin by a narrow pass several miles in length. The northern and eastern sides are precipitous. The western side is about 220 feet in height. At the extreme south-south-east end it approaches closely to the Nile Valley, and the contour is interrupted by two gaps.

Dionysias and the Deir Moéleh.

In the north-west corner of the Wadi Moéleh are the ruins of a monastery. Sir Gardner Wilkinson describes them as "containing two churches, one of stone, the other of brick, and surrounded by a strong wall, with a tower of defence on the north side. In the churches are several Coptic and some Arabic inscriptions, and figures of the Apostles and Saints, and the cornice that runs round the niche in the stone church is richly carved, though in bad taste" ("Modern Egypt and Thebes," II, 356). This description can hardly be said to tally with my photographs. The building stands under a steep cliff, from whose summit there is a grand view. The walls, above a certain height, are of unbaked brick. In the photograph of the west wall of the chapel St. George and his horse are plainly discernible. The Arabic *graffiti*, in red, are of no importance. They are only invocations, by Copts, to various saints. There is no tower of defence and no stone church; but in 1883 I reached a farm on the Bahr Jousuf, settled to pious uses by Mehemet Ali. The doorway was a noble arch, sculptured with the usual Christian emblems of the vine. My host, the lessee, said that it had been brought from a monastery in the desert to the west, not improbably after the period of Sir Gardner Wilkinson. I hope to accumulate further information. The unremitting labours of the Abbé Amelineau have made him the first authority on all questions relating to Coptic monasticism. A contribution from his pen would be of extreme value. The observations of Dr. Schweinfurth will be found in the *Proceedings of the Berlin Geographical Society* (p. 113).

There are capitals of an earlier building in Copto-Corinthian style, and fragments of black granite. Is there any reasonable doubt that this is the site of Dionysias? In the text of Claudius Ptolemy the following places are given :—

"Et circa Mœridis paludem : Mastitæ populi.		
Bacchis	60°, 30′	29°, 40′
Dionysias	60°, 30′	29°, 0′
et in Oasitas, œasitas alii vocant.		
Oassis parva	60°, 15′	28°, 45′
et Maria Palus, Mareotis	60°, 15′	30°, 50′
et Mœridis Lacus	60°, 20′	29°, 20′."

In Smith's "Atlas of Ancient Geography" (1875), Dionysia (*sic*) is given in the index, and marked on the map with a query, near a small lake evidently intended for Gharaq in lat. 29°, 10′, on the same parallel as Ahnes=Heracleopolis. Pauly says : "Dionysias—Wahrscheinlich jetzt Beled-Kerun am Westlichen Winkel des Sees; nach Mannert ("Geogr.," X, 1, 430) aber an dem südlicher gelegenen Süsswasser See Garah zu suchen. vrgl. 'Georgii alte Geog.,' I, s. 438." Dionysias was not Qasr Qeroun. The desert, with which I am now so familiar, offers no other point at which there could have been an important station. The ground is suitable for the vine, and the worship of Dionysos would not only account for the name, but for the emblems selected by the Christian successors of the worshippers of Bacchus.

Meridis Lacus on the Ptolemaic Maps.

The determination of the form of this valley and the position of its ruins seemed to me to be a conclusive proof of the just estimate I had formed of the antiquity of the Ptolemaic maps. These maps had been universally condemned. No protest is ever uttered against the assertion that they are the work of mediæval monks, who constructed them after the specifications given in the text, eked out by the general descriptions of Herodotus, Diodorus and Strabo. Masūdi, who died in A.D. 958, mentions a Ptolemaic map of Egypt extant in his time. At Mount Athos, there is a manuscript which has been published in facsimile, and assigned to the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. The numerous manuscripts such as that which once belonged to Prince Talleyrand, in the British Museum, like the editions printed in Rome

(1478), Bonn, Ulm, Venice, Strasburg, Basle, Lyons, to that of Cologne by Mercator (1578), are a most interesting study. On all of them, as well as on the map of Berlingheri (Florence, ca. 1480), Mœris is depicted to the south and south-west of the Fayoum. These maps of Egypt can be divided into two great families. In the one case Lakes Mareotis and Serbonis are represented with an approximation to their true outline. In the second class the bodies of water are represented by conventional signs. One circle, for instance, for Mareotis, two—but parallel to the Mediterranean—for Serbonis. Mœris, which on the Greek map of Mount Athos is a mere spot of colour with a name, is a kind of rosette or cinque foil on the Berlingheri, where Mareotis is smaller, and a circle.

On the other map, also autographed by me in 1881, from the Roman Ptolemy, it has a very singular and, at that time, utterly incomprehensible form. If, however, the map of all the depression, including the Wadi Moéleh, as given by Dr. Schweinfurth below high Nile at Behnesa, is reduced to the same scale (ca. 1:3,000,000), the shape and position correspond in the most striking manner to this Meridis Lacus. I propose elsewhere to examine this matter in minute detail. Let anyone, however, compare the Map of the World by Marino Sanuto, 1321, or the Carte Catalane of 1375 in the Bibliothêque Nationale, or the Rheims Map of Pomponius Mela, 1417, or even the magnificent achievement of Fra Mauro, Venice, 1439, and conceive, if he can, that in any part of Southern Europe there were monks who could design a map of Egypt with sufficient fidelity to make it a safer guide in the desert than those of the War Offices of England and France. The Ptolemaic maps used to be ranked as of equal authority with the text. Nobbe wrote: Agathodæmon igitur (sive ut est, Ἀγαθὸς δαίμων) qui, quis aut quando fuerit, non multo quidem post Hadrianum, sub quo geographus noster vixit, ad auctoris mentem tabulas geographicas composuit. Quæ incertum est utrum minus depravatæ sint quam scriptoris oratio. Quo circa sæpe judicium æqua lance suspensum hæreat necesse est, sitne scriptoris ad scribarum, an ad pictoris fidem restituenda narratio* ("Programma," Leipsic, 1838).

* The beautiful manuscript "portato da Scio da Stephano Mavrogardato," No. 507, bought in 1606, in the Ambrosian library at Milan, is of peculiar interest from certain omissions, and from the Arabic equivalents occasionally noted, *e.g.*, فيلك, φιλακάι.

Hanes-Heracleopolis.

Henassiet el-Medineh is the official designation of the village on the Bahr Jousuf, near Om el-Kemān, "the mother of mounds," the ancient Heracleopolis Magna. The photographs are of greater importance, because there is no plan of it in the "Description d'Egypte," nor was it ever visited, apparently, prior to my visit in 1883 by any Egyptologist, including Lepsius, Mariette, and Maspero. Professor A. Erman and Dr. Schweinfurth passed a day there in January of this year. In April (1886), leaving Colonel Ardagh to return from Gharaq by Medinet, I crossed the narrow desert, only two miles wide, from Abu-Hammed, in order to photograph the only prostyle of a temple of a Greek order standing in Egypt. There is no doubt that it is both Heracleopolis and Hanes. "Hanes, eine Stadt in Ægypten (Is. 30, 4) ohne Zweifel das heutige Ehnés, Herakleopolis Magna." But, on Phillip's Atlas (1855), Hanes figures in the north-eastern Delta, near the sea, to the east of San el-Hagar. The continental opinion is also traversed in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible." "Zoan was probably the capital of Manetho's Zet, and in any case then the most important city of the eastern part of Lower Egypt. Hanes was most probably in its neighbourhood" (s.v. Hanes). But as we know from Benjamin of Tudela that Zoan was the current Hebrew name for part of Mizraim-Cairo, this, the only objection, fails. In the conflict between tradition and conjecture, the arbitrament of the spade has thus far given negative evidence to the theory of a Jewish occupation of the north-eastern Delta. Not a vestige has been found of the pre-Mosaic or of the post-Jeremiah periods. The princes came to Memphis, the ambassadors to Henassiet el-Medineh, whose ruins astonished Dr. Schweinfurth. It has been conjectured that Hanes is also Tahpanhes (Smith's Dict., s.v.). If this be true, these columns are near the ruins of the palace in which Jeremiah stood and prophesied, and the daughters of King Zedekiah found a refuge. Since my visit in 1883, it has appeared to me one of the most important points in Egypt for excavation. Priceless treasures are there. Fragments of papyri have been found, but it is earnestly to be hoped no amateurs will be allowed to make an initiatory experience, and that nothing will be done except by systematic and experienced explorers, under proper surveillance.

حطاب مستر ويتهوس الشهير
فيما يتعلق ببحر يوسف الذى تلاه فى جمعية المعارف المصرية
وما اورده على ذلك من النصوص الاسلامية

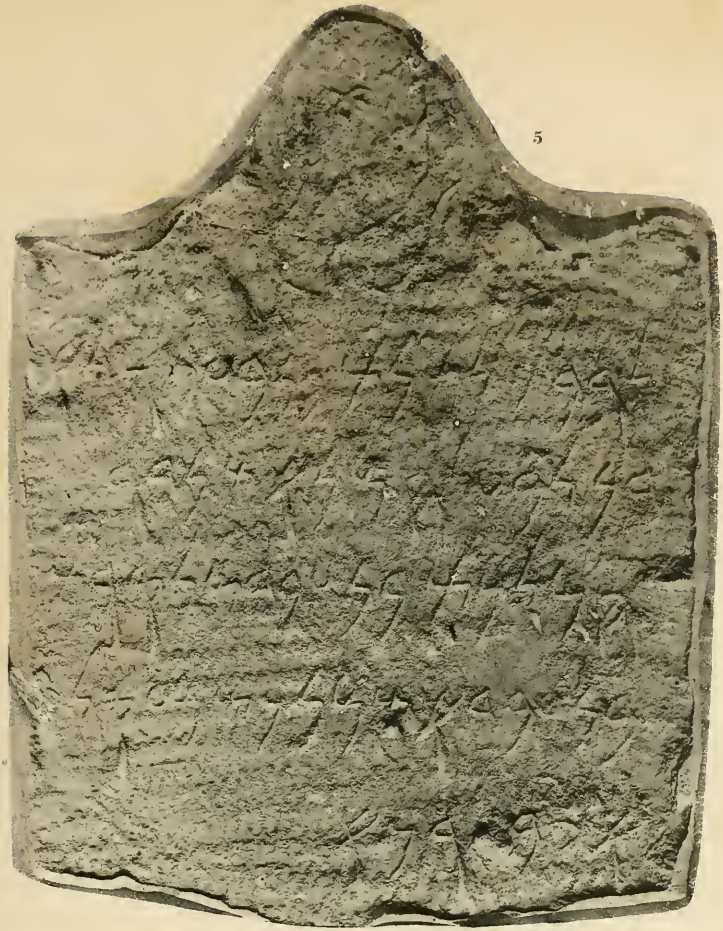
This is an Arabic translation by Mahmoud Rashad, attached to the Bureau of Public Instruction in the Ministry of the Interior at Cairo, of my memoir "Le Bahr Youssouf d'après les traditions Musulmanes," read before the Institut Egyptien, Cairo, March 5th, 1886. In this paper I examined the Arabic authorities, including the Kurān, so far as they relate to the engineering works attributed to the Patriarch Joseph. The subject was presented for the first time to this Society (*Proceedings*, November and December, 1885). It was discussed at Oxford (*Oxford Review*, November 15th), and Cambridge (November 31st; Communications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society," Vol. VI, Part 2, No. 28). Hazardous as it seemed to seek at this late day to offer a lucid and intelligible explanation of the Prophecy of Jacob, a task long since abandoned by the profoundest scholars, there is no doubt much can be found to support my conjecture. The facts are indisputable. The local traditions have been despised and repudiated in the face of conclusive testimony. The roll of the Pentateuch in the Ark may have been on papyrus, and papyri virtually defy time. Another three thousand years would not impair the legibility of Egyptian manuscripts of the age of Solomon. Nor is there a necessary connection between the antiquity and the corruption of a text. There were probably Demotic translations of the law made in the time of Jeremiah for the use of Egyptian Jews, which form the basis of the Coptic Version. No error of transcription could creep into such a text. If a copy were found in a Jewish burial-place in the Fayoum, or in the lost palace of the Rabbi Nathaniel, Rector of the Jewish University of Zoan (Cairo) in the twelfth century, it would have suffered nothing by the lapse of time. It is possible that the records cited by Manetho were original documents of the time of the Exodus. How far the present recension of the Egyptian history of the Jews before the expulsion owes its local colouring to the Semitic traditions preserved in Arabia as well as in the Valley of the Nile, and recovered after their return to Egypt in the sixth century, is a problem of extreme difficulty. My object was to display to the Western world the treasures which had been too hastily flung aside. On the other hand, the Professors of the Mosque el-Azhar are

thoughtful and erudite students of the Arabic version of the history of Joseph. They heartily endorsed my efforts. The written biography of a man whose deeds are recorded in great public works is apt to consist of those anecdotes of birth and early life which would otherwise be forgotten. The Bahr Jousuf is the oldest engineering work in the world still subserving a purpose of public utility. At high Nile as much as twenty-two millions of cubic metres of water pass through it daily. The adult life of Joseph is condensed in Genesis into a few sentences. The career of Jousuf ibn-Isaac, engineer, statesman, and savant, fills volumes of Arabic literature. As Director-General of Public Works to Pharaoh, he conferred upon one of these monarchs the title of "The Irrigator." Jousuf, Vizir of Raian, gave his own name to the canal, and his master's to the vast depression which his skill and the resources of the kingdom converted into the "most wonderful lake of Mœris, with the adjacent Arsinoïte Nome." The photographs and sketches and surveys show that the Arabic traditions are in entire conformity with the physical and social changes which are referred by them to the depressed region of the Moéleh-Raian and Gharaq-Fayoum basins. The effort to show that all religions with a Semitic base are interested in this study, met with the outspoken approbation of the highest political and ecclesiastical officers of the Egyptian Government. It was printed in *El-Kahira*, and is calculated to ensure the co-operation of the believers in the Kurān for the restoration of ancient irrigation works of Arabian origin.

Behnesa.

The photographs show the River of Joseph where it passes through this town, whose historical importance cannot be too highly estimated. The views from the Kom show the level desert, traversed by wheeled vehicles, which separates it from the hills at the Wadi Moéleh. I visited it in 1883, and found on that occasion also the Bedouins most hospitable and trustworthy.

The communications which I have been permitted heretofore to make will be found, I think, to have been fully justified by the volume which I have the honour to present to the Society, and I am not aware of any errors of sufficient consequence to justify formal correction.

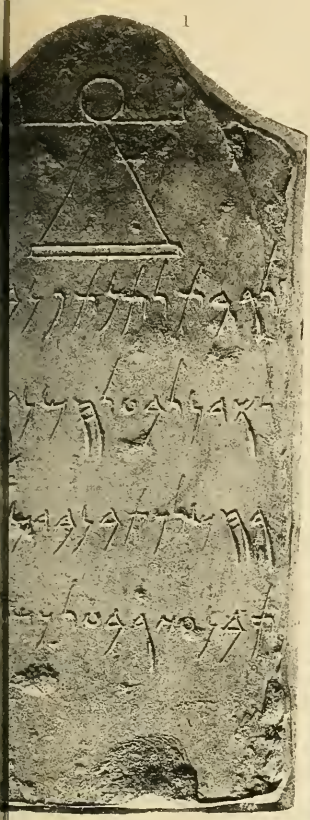


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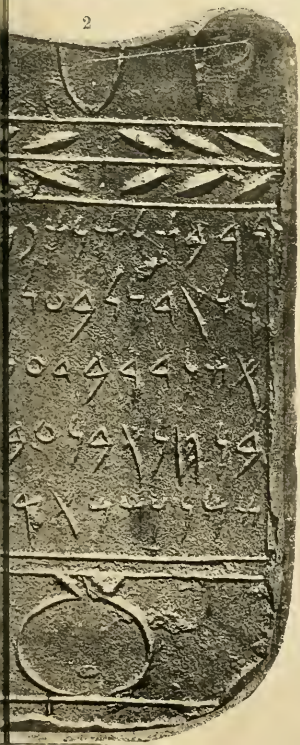


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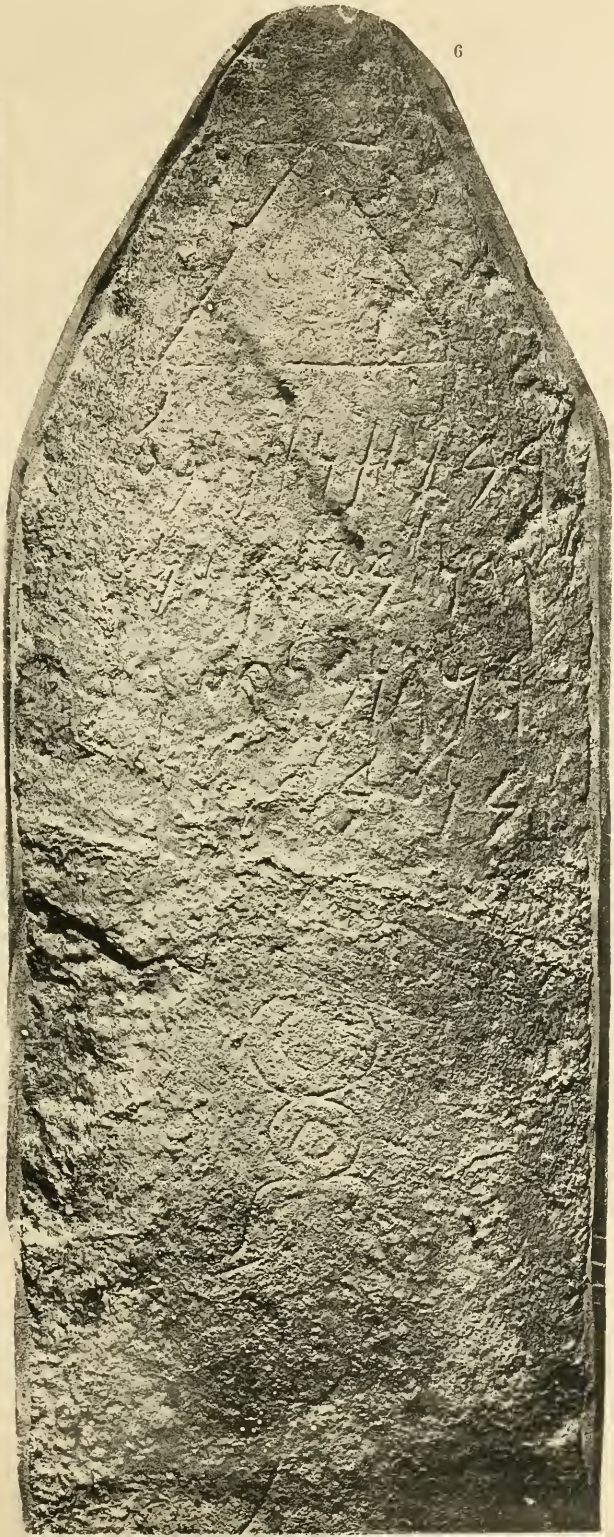




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The following Communication has been received from Professor Wright:—

Note on Seven Punic Inscriptions in the British Museum.

The British Museum has recently acquired seven Punic inscriptions from Carthage of the usual *ex voto* type. Though presenting no new features of form or ornamentation, nor adding anything to our knowledge of the Phœnician vocabulary, all such objects are deserving of registration and publication, and I therefore call the attention of our Society to them.

1. Elegant characters of an early period. Apparently unfinished. Above is the symbol of the deity.

לרבת לתנת פן בעל ו
לאדן לבעלחמן אש נד
ר חמלכת בן בדמלקר
ת בן עזרבעל כשמא ק

To the great (*goddess*), *to Tanith*, *the face* (counterpart) *of Ba'al*, *and to the Lord*, *to Ba'al-Ḥammān*, *which vowed Ḥimilcath* (Himilco), *the son of Bod-Melḳart* (Bomilcar), *the son of 'Azru-ba'al* (Asdrubal), *because he heard* [*his*] *v*[*oice*].

חמלכת probably = אֲחִימַלְכַּת.—כשמא, i.e. כִּי שָׁמַע, referring to Ba'al-Ḥammān.—ק stands for קלא, the Punic equivalent of קוֹל.

2. Good, clear characters. At the top the uplifted hand; ornaments above and below.

לרבת לתנת פן בעל
ולאדן לבעלחמ[ן]
אש נדר בדעשתרת
בן חנא בן עבדא
שמן כשמא קלא

To the great (*goddess*), etc., *which vowed Bod-'Ashtōreth* (Bodostor), *the son of Ḥannō*, *the son of 'Abd-Eshmūn*, *because he heard his voice.*

3. Not deeply incised, but still legible. Above is the uplifted hand.

לרבת לתנת פן בעל ולאדן לבעלחמן אש
נדר עבדאשמן בן מגן

To the great (*goddess*), etc., *which vowed 'Abd-Eshmūn, the son of Magōn* (Mago).

4. Larger characters than in 3, but not clearly cut. Symbol of the deity at the top; ornamentation above and below.

[לר]בת לתנת פן בעל ולא
דן לבעלחמן אש נדר מגן
בן בעלחנא בן חמלכת

To the great (*goddess*), etc., *which vowed Magōn, the son of Ba'al-Ḥannō, the son of Ḥimilcath.*

5. Large characters, but slightly incised. No ornamentation.

לרבת לתנת פן בעל ולא
דן לבעלחמן אש נדר
חמלכת בן עבדמלקרת
בן עבדאשמן בשמע קל
א יבּ֫רכא

To the great (*goddess*), etc., *which vowed Ḥimilcath, the son of 'Abd-Melḳart, the son of 'Abd-Eshmūn, because he heard his voice; may he bless him.*

There is a flaw in the stone in the last line, which the engraver has avoided.

6. Large characters, not deeply incised and somewhat worn. The symbol of the deity above; another symbolic figure below. Apparently left unfinished.

[ל]רבת לתנת פן בעל ו
לאדן לבעלחמן אש [נ]
דר מגן בן עזרבעל
בן עבד

To the great (*goddess*), etc., *which vowed Magōn, the son of 'Azru-ba'al, the son of 'Abd-*[*Eshmūn.*]

7. Large, clear characters. The symbol of the deity and other ornaments above.

[ל]רבת לתנת פן בעל ולא[ן]
לבעלחמן אש נדר עזרב
על בן עבדאשמן בן בדא [בן]
עבדאשמן

To the great (*goddess*), etc., *which vowed* '*Azru-ba'al, the son of* '*Abd-Eshmūn, the son of Bōdō* (?), *the son of* '*Abd-Eshmūn.*

The engraver omitted the word בן in line 3, between עבדאשמן and בדא, and afterwards inserted it in smaller letters, the one over the other.

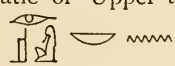
Cambridge, 23*rd June*, 1886.

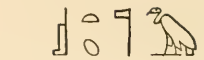
P.S. My friend Professor Dr. J. Euting of Strassburg, a lynx-eyed palaeographer and epigraphist, thinks that the genuineness of no. 4 is doubtful. He also suspects *Corpus Inscrr. Semitt. Tab.* XLVIII, *no.* 288 (read 228), regarding which the editors of that collection have likewise expressed their suspicions.

18*th July.*

The following Communication has been received from Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge:—

Dear Mr. Rylands,

The following is a description of the *squeeze* of an Egyptian *stele*, now in the Bath Museum, forwarded to you by Miss Gertrude Austin. The tablet is divided into two parts. In the upper, Osiris, wearing the *atf* crown , and holding the whip , and crook , is seated upon a throne, in the left-hand corner of which is a design emblematic of Upper and Lower Egypt. Above his head is the legend  "Osiris lord of life." Behind him stands the goddess Isis, and above her head is

 *Ast nutar mut*, "Isis divine mother." Before the god are a table of offerings and figures of the deceased and his wife. His hands are uplifted in adoration, and he wears a tunic with plaits and fringe reaching to his ankles. His wife wears the cone, lotus flower, and head dress, and she holds a lotus bud in her hand. Above these are three lines of hieroglyphics, which read

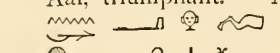


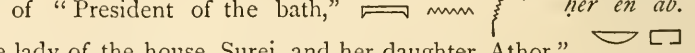
 *ka nā en ta śennut Ta-ḥet-meri ȧχet* (*?*). *Nebt pa Tent-ȧnt mātχeru.* "The *ka* of the scribe of the granary, Ta-ḥet-meri-ȧχet. The lady of the house Tent-Ȧnt, triumphant."

In the lower part of the tablet a table of offerings and five relatives of the deceased are shown. The first relative is

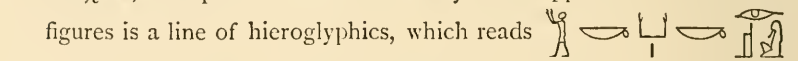
 *ḥer nubi en pa χepeś Pai mātχeru.* "The chief smelter of the foundry, Pai, triumphant." Behind him comes "the lady of the house,

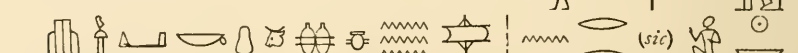
 Ȧai, triumphant." A male, probably the son of this lady, called

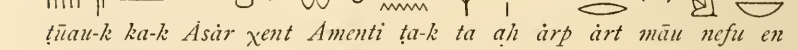
 *Neχt-āt-ḥer-χepeś-f*, comes next; he held the office of "President of the bath,"

 *ḥer en āb.* "The lady of the house, Surei, and her daughter Athor,"

 *nebt pa Surei set-s Ḥet-Ḥeru mātχeru*, complete the row of family worshippers. Beneath the figures is a line of hieroglyphics, which reads



 (*sic*)

 *ṭūau-k ka-k Ȧsȧr χent Ȧmenti ṭa-k ta ȧḥ ȧrp ȧrt māu nefu en re-ȧ ḥru neb.* "Adoration to thee and thy *ka* (*?*), Osiris, at the head of Ȧmenti, mayest thou grant bread, oxen, wine, milk, water, and breezes for my mouth every day." The execution of the tablet is good, and belongs to the period of the nineteenth dynasty, or about B.C. 1330, when the names found on this tablet were common. For these see Lieblein, *Dict. des Noms Propres*, Nos. 620, 870, and 871.

The following Communication has been received from Professor W. Wright.

On Hebrew Inscriptions From 'Aden.

Thos. Holdsworth Newman Esq., of the firm of Messrs. Newman, Hunt & Co., 39 New Broad Street, London, E.C., has recently presented to the Trustees of the British Museum two large blocks of stone with inscriptions, which were brought to this country about 50 years ago from 'Aden.

The one block is about 3 feet 2 inches in length by 2 feet $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth; the other about 3 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 2 feet 8 inches. Both are quite rough and unhewn, but the holes and cavities in them have been filled up with some kind of cement, so as to present a tolerably level surface to the carver of the inscriptions. In some places, however, this cement has dropped out of its place, and consequently letters or parts of letters have entirely disappeared.

The inscriptions being nearly identical, it is evident that one of these blocks was the headstone of a grave, whilst the other was laid flat upon it.

I.

The first six lines of this inscription are legible, with the exception of a single word at the end of line 1; but of lines 7 and 8 little can be deciphered with certainty. I read:—

(1) תנוחי בשלום עד יבא ה · · ·
(2) בחדש טבת שנת אתרמד
(3) נאספה האשה הכשרה
(4) החשובה מדמיה בת
(5) סעדיה בר אברהם זל
(6) בשלום אל [א]בותיה
(7) · הא · · · · · בועדניים
(8) · · · · ם

(1) *Mayest thou rest in peace until the* [*redeemer*] *cometh!* (2–6) *In the month of Ṭebeth, in the year* 1644, *was gathered in peace to her fathers the worthy, respected woman Madmīyah, the daughter of Sĕadyah the son of Abraham* (*may his memory be blessed*). (7, 8)

I can think of no word to supply at the end of line 1 but [ה]גאל, and yet there seems to be hardly room for three letters.—The date in line 2 must necessarily be that "of the Contracts," לשטרות, or the Seleucian era; consequently Ṭebeth 1644 = January 1333 A.D.—The correct pronunciation of the name which I have written Madmīyah, מַדְמִיָּה, is not certainly known to me.—In line 6 the א of אבותיה has disappeared, along with part of the preceding ל, owing to the falling out of a piece of cement.—Lines 7 and 8 I do not venture to read or translate. In line 7 the letters הא are certain; then ב, then עד, and finally ים. The ו after ב is not clear, and ני may possibly be one letter.

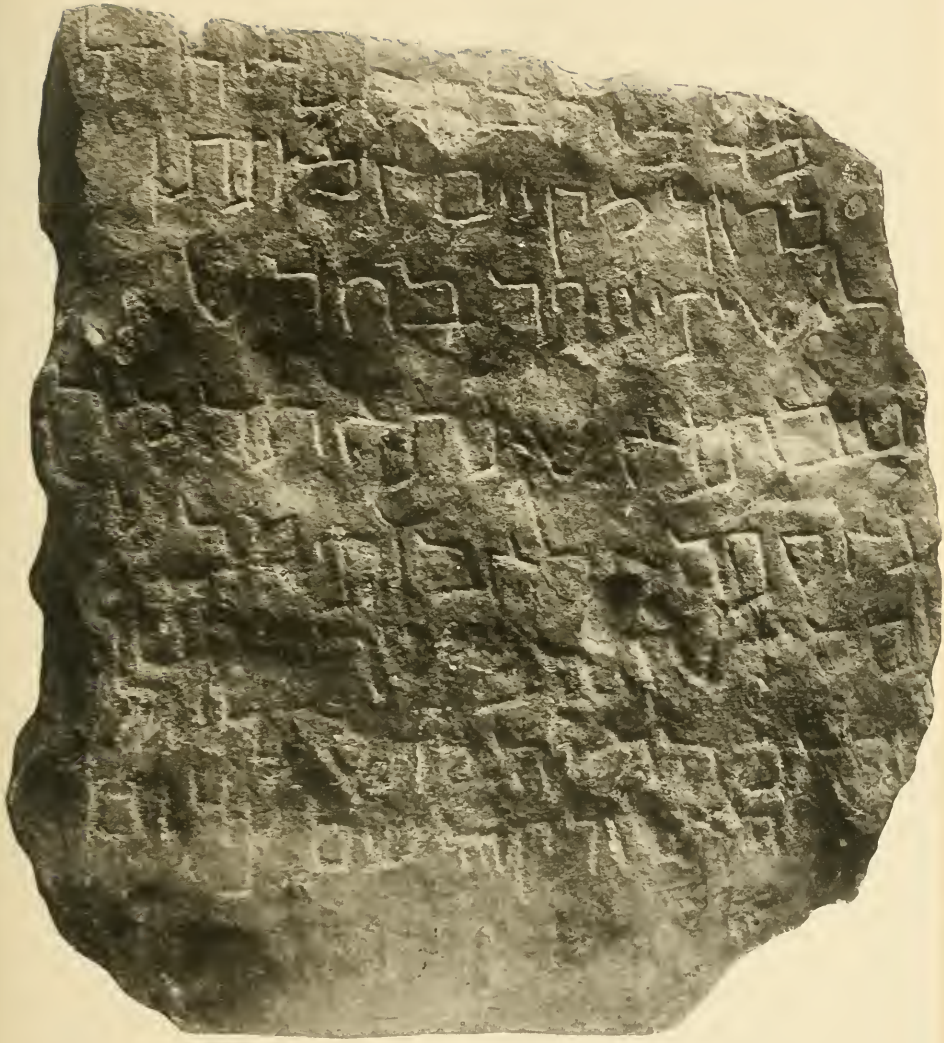
II.

(1) מדמיה בת סעדיה זל
(2) ברוך מקיים אמונתו
(3) לישיני עפר בחדש
(4) טבת נא שנת אתרמד
(5) נאספה אל אבותיה בשל
(6) ום האשה הכשרה הטה
(7) ורה מדמיה בת סעדיה
(8) . . . הא · לק · · שם · לום

(1) *Madmīyah, the daughter of Sĕ'adyah* (*may his memory be blessed*). (2) *Blessed be He who establisheth His faithfulness* (3) *unto* [or *keepeth His covenant with*] *them that sleep in the dust. In the month* (4) *of Ṭebeth, in the year* 1644, (5) *was gathered unto her fathers in pea*(6)*ce the worthy, pure woman* (7) *Madmīyah, the daughter of Sĕ'adyah.* (8) - - - - - - - - - - -

In line 3 the spelling לישיני, with י after the ש, may be noted. —In line 4, after the name of the month Ṭebeth, the stone exhibits the letters נא, or perhaps זא. It is possible that these may be due to a mistake of the engraver, who inadvertently began to cut the word נאספה (line 5); but it is also possible, and indeed more likely, that they may be the initial letters of two words (like זל). Ṭebeth is one of the unlucky months,* and therefore we might

* These זְעוּמֵי אֲרָעֵי are four in number, viz., Tammūz, Ab, Tishrī, and Ṭebeth. See Zech. vii. 3, viii. 19.



TOMBSTONE OF MADMIYAH BATH SE 'ADYAH A.D. 1333

In the British Museum.

reasonably expect after it a deprecative formula; just as the mention of Tammūz is followed by יל (i.e. יְהִי לְשָׁשׁוֹן or יְהֻפַּךְ לְשָׁשׁוֹן) in Add. MS. 1020–21 of the University Library, Cambridge, fol. 108*a*.* I have sought however in vain for an explanation of נא in this or any other suitable sense, nor does one occur to Dr. Schiller-Szinessy, who inclines therefore to read זא, which he explains to mean זְעוּם אֲדֹנָי† ("with which the Lord is wroth," "accursed of the Lord").—Line 8 I do not pretend to read or translate, but the letters given above are all certain. The reader may consult the annexed photograph.

In connection with these inscriptions I shall take the opportunity of saying a few words regarding five other stones from 'Aden, which have lain for a good many years in the British Museum, and have been examined by Levy, Euting, Chwolson, and other scholars. As Chwolson is the most recent writer on the subject, I shall refer to his remarks in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Hebraicarum* (St. Petersburg, 1882). Perhaps I may be able to correct some errors in what he and others have said, and the more easily, as the stones are now placed, with many other Semitic inscriptions, in a better lighted apartment off one of the Assyrian saloons.

1. I begin with Chwolson's no. 5, *op. cit.*, p. 129, note 1. This I read as follows:—

(1) נאסף לבית עלמו
(2) פרח בר יהואש ʿערב
(3) יום שלישי בחדש כס
(4) [לו שנ]ת אתרכה

(1) *Was gathered to his long home* (2) *Perach, the son of Jehoash* - - - -, (3) *on the third day in the month of Kis* (4) *lēu, in the year* 1628.

In line 1 the word עלמו is written without ו after ע.—In line 2 the engraver has put ח for ה in the name יְהוֹאָשׁ; at least the letter is exactly like ח in the preceding פרח and the following בחדש. The strange word after the name of the father is צערב,

* I owe this reference to Dr. Schiller-Szinessy.

† Or זְ אֵל, or זְ אֱלֹהִים.

not צערם.—In line 4 I have put [לו שנ] within brackets, but I believe that I can discern traces of all four letters on the stone. The date Kislēu 1628 falls in December 1316 A.D.

2. Chwolson's no. 4 (*op. cit.*, p. 130, note 2) is one of the worst preserved of these tombstones. So far as I can pretend to decipher it, it runs :—

(1) [נא]ספה שה
(2) ב[ת] בחדש
(3) [אב שנת] אתרכד

(*Was gathered* (*to her long home*) *shah*, (2) *the daugh*[*ter of*] , *in the month of* (3) [*Ab, in the year*] 1624.

The letters ספה in the first line seem to me to be certain. The name of the woman looks like יומושה or ירמושה, but the מ is very doubtful. That of her father in line 2 is still more obscure, no letter in it being certain except the second, which is ק. In line 3 the five letters of the date are certain; there cannot therefore be more than five others in the line, and as שנת must precede the numerals, there remain but two letters for the name of the month. 1624=1313 A.D.

3. Chwolson's no. 3 (*op. cit.*, p. 130) is also sadly injured. All that is legible is :—

(1) נאספה לבית עולמה
(2) האשה החשובה
(3) מלכה בת

(1) *Was gathered to her long home* (2) *the respected woman* (3) *Milcah, the daughter of* - - - - - - - -

4. Chwolson's no. 2 (*op. cit.*, p. 130).

(1) [נא]סף לבית עולמו
(2) הזקן הטהר הכשר
(3) זכריה ברב דויד
(4) בחדש ניסן שנת
(5) . . רלח

(1) *Was gathered to his long home* (2) *the aged, the pure, the worthy* (3) *Zĕcharyah, the son of Rab David*, (4) *in the month of Nisan, in the year* - - - - - - - - - - -

The final letters of the date look to me like לח, which would give 1638=1327 A.D. Madden, *Numismata Orientalia*, vol. ii, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 39, is mistaken. At least I can see no warrant for saying that this gravestone is dated 1228=916 A.D. Even granting that כח be correct, the date would still be אתרכח, 1628=1317 A.D.*

5. Lastly, Chwolson's no. 1 (*op. cit.*, p. 126). The autotype reproduction in the Oriental Series of the Palaeographical Society, plate XXIX, is from a squeeze, as the slab was not then in a place where it could easily be photographed.

(1) נאספה [ל]בית עולמה האשה
(2) הזקונה הצנועה הצדקת
(3) החסידה משתא תמ̇כ בת
(4) הזקן החסיד העניו הטוב
(5) הירא שמים דויד ר״ת
(6) יום י֯ב לחודש אב שנת
(7) כט לשטרות

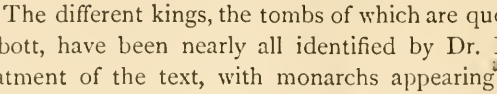
The only error in Chwolson's reading is החסודה instead of החסידה, but the letter on the stone is evidently י and not ו. The date כט cannot possibly indicate the actual year 29 of the Seleucian era, beginning October 283 B.C. It has been generally understood to mean 1029=718 A.D.; but some scholars of mark, like Professors Strack and Euting, think that it may be even later. On the supposition that the hundred has been left out as well as the thousand, the date intended may be either 1129=818 A.D., or 1229=918 A.D., which latter would be within two years of the famous *codex Petropolitanus* of the Latter Prophets (A.D. 916). Later than this the inscription can hardly be. For the translation, explanation of the contractions, etc., see the commentary which accompanies plate XXIX of the Palaeographical Society's Oriental Series.

CAMBRIDGE, 27*th July*, 1886.

* What Madden says about the "peculiar letter ח for א" also rests on a misapprehension. There is no such form as ח or ח for א on these gravestones of the fourteenth century. The form of א is always א, but when נ precedes as in נאסף, נא may easily run into ח. See Chwolson, *op. cit.*, p. 129, note 1.

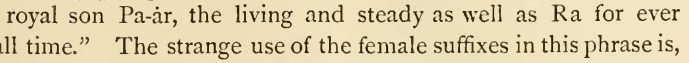
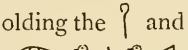
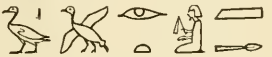
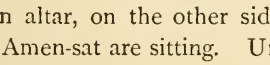
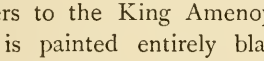
The following three Communications have been received from Dr. A. Wiedemann.

THE KING ÀḤMES-SA-PA-ÀR.

The different kings, the tombs of which are quoted by the Papyrus Abbott, have been nearly all identified by Dr. Birch in his classic treatment of the text, with monarchs appearing in other Egyptian inscriptions. Only one could not be found elsewhere, it was the , whose tomb was situated between those of Kames and of Mentuḥetep; it was found then inviolate (Pap. Abbott, plate III, line 13). Many hypotheses have been made as to the period when this king lived. Birch himself (Select Papyri, II part. Introduction, page 4, and Le papyrus Abbott in the *Rev. arch.*, I, Ser. XVI, 1 (1859), page 272, *sq.*) proposed to identify him with the often quoted Prince Sapaâr. The name would be arrived at by dividing it into Àḥmes, the son (sa) of Pa-âr. Pa-âr was then a son of Amenophis I,* who died before his father, but after having received the royal honours. That he had cartouches, as other princes, resulted from the small power of the Egyptian kingship at this time, when these princes bore the same position with regard to the king as the Cæsars to the emperors in the time of Constantine. Maspero ("Mém. prés. par div. sav. à l'Ac. des Inscr.," I, Ser. VIII, 2 (1874), page 290) was of another opinion; he declared that the king as well as Rā-χen-neb, Âāḥ-ḥetep, *e.c.*, figured in the bas-relief Lepsius, *Denkm.* III, 2, was one of the successors of Ta-āa-ken and a real king. Brugsch ("Hist. d'Egypte," 2nd ed., page 170, and *Gesch. Aeg.*, page 256) hold nearly the same opinion as Birch, taking Àḥmessipar as a viceroy of Àḥmes I, and Schiaparelli (Il libro dei funerali, I, page 17) identified him, as Birch did, with the prince Sapaâri. Unger ("Chronologie des Manetho," page 155) identified the name with the Alisphragmuthosis of Manetho, but his explanation appears too complicated to be probable. Others took the king for Àḥmes I himself, *e.c.*

The first question is: is the king identical with the prince Sa-pa-âr? This prince appears on several monuments. Firstly, he is represented between deified persons of the royal family in the

* Rosellini, "Mon. stor.," Text III, 1, page 98, *sqq.*, took Àḥmespaâr as a son of Amenophis I.

tomb 9 at Dêr el-Medinet (Lepsius, *Denkm.* III, 2*a*), as a boy with the name  "the royal son Pa-âr, the living and steady as well as Ra for ever and all time." The strange use of the female suffixes in this phrase is, as the man is represented as *male*, only a fault of the engraver, and without further importance.—Then he appears in an analogous representation in the tomb 10 of Dêr el-Medinet (Lepsius, *Denkm.*, III, 2, *d*), holding the  and the , and decorated with the princely curl as the  "the Osiris Sa-pa-âr." The two tombs being of the Ramesside-period, show that the cult of the prince lasted till that time.—Another adoration of  is found on the sarcophagus of Butehaâmon, where he appears with Amenophis I, his wife and mother, and other members of the same family (Schiaparelli, Il libro dei funerali, tome 1, page 17; *cf.* Lepsius, "Auswahl," plate 11). Then we find the  represented as a sitting man, adored, on a stela at Turin (Sala a mezzog., No. 14; published by Champollion-Figeac, Eg. anc., plate 67; and Maspero, *Recueil*, III, p. 113; *cf.* Lieblein, Dict. des noms, No. 592) with Amenophis I, his mother, Ṭhutmes I and III and Amenophis II.—A similar representation appears on a stela found by Mariette in the ruins of the old town of Karnak (Mariette, Mon. div., plate 89), where the  is sitting as a man on one side of an altar, on the other side of which Amenophis I, his mother, and Amen-sat are sitting. Underneath are different private persons and an adoration-text.—At last we find the man in a bas-relief of a Thebean tomb (Rosellini, Mon. stor., plate 29, No. 3; *cf.* Champollion, Mon., II, plate 162, No. 2), where a man named Neχt offers flowers to the King Amenophis I, who bears the Osiris-symbols, and is painted entirely black; behind him stands a man, the  "the prince Âḥmes-pa-âr."

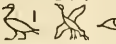
It cannot be doubted that the prince Pa-âr, the Osiris Sa-pa-âr, the prince Âḥmes-sa-pa-âr and the prince Âḥmes-pa-âr are one and the same person. They appear under exactly the same circumstances, they are always adored with the King Amenophis I, the names are very similar, so that this fact must be taken as

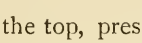
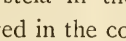
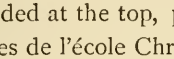
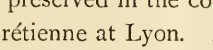
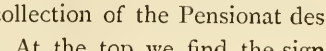
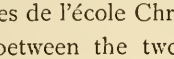
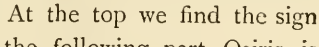
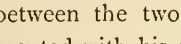
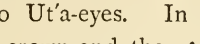
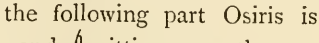
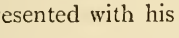
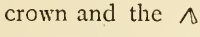
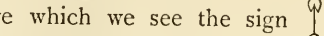
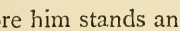
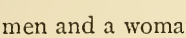
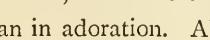
certain. But the identification of this person with the king of the Abbot papyrus is another question. The prince has never the cartouches, he is never named , he has not one of the symbols of the kings, his emblems are those of Osiris, or the flowers as the ordinary people used to have them, so that there is no reason for supposing that he ever aspired to royal power. On the contrary, his representation as an Osiris without any addition proves that he died without having obtained a cartouche. So we cannot take him for the king of the same name; and I believe with Maspero this king to be one of the predecessors of Aḥmes I. The opinion that he might be one of his viceroys is not probable, as his name is enclosed in cartouches. It is true that princes and queens have the cartouches at the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty, but then they were really associated with the throne. The example of Aḥmes-nefer-âteri and Rā-māa-ka show that then the female throne-succession was accepted as a possibility, and the first period of the reign of Ṭhutmes III proves that the kings used to take the hereditary princes as co-regents, as well as the kings of the XIIth dynasty some centuries earlier. But we find nowhere any sign showing that viceroys, endowed with a certain power existed then, and had the right to have cartouches. The biographies of the period show that the power of the kingdom was then as great as at any time during Egyptian history; and the fact that only the names of monarchs appear on the numerous monuments of the period, proves the non-existence of kinglike viceroys. On the other hand, these texts never quote a co-regence of Aḥmes-sa-pa-âr, so that his introduction into the list of kings of the XVIIIth dynasty becomes an impossibility, and he must remain as a king of the XVIIth dynasty.

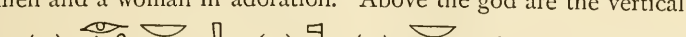
The prince Sa-pa-âr appears always with Amenophis I; he is named "royal son," and so it is very probable that he was, as Birch believed, a son of this king, who died as a boy. Nevertheless, he must have had a certain importance, perhaps as the eldest son, as only this or a similar fact would explain that his cult was so often remembered, and lasted for several centuries.

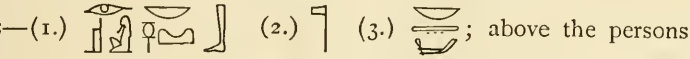
The chief reason which induced the different writers on this period to identify the king and the prince, was that the name Sapaâr appeared not to be found elsewhere. Indeed, the name is seldom found, but there exist three unpublished texts showing that

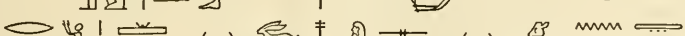
it was not quite unknown in the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty even among the lower classes of the population.

The first one needs only to be quoted, it is the stela C. 73 of the Louvre, dating of the XVIIIth dynasty, and covered almost entirely by nothing but names, which have been published by Lieblein, Dict. des noms, No. 437; on this stela, one of the sons of the owner has the name  Sa-pa-âr.

The second text is a stela in the style of the same period, rounded at the top, preserved in the collection of the Pensionat des Frères de l'école Chrétienne at Lyon. At the top we find the sign  between the two Ut'a-eyes. In the following part Osiris is represented with his crown and the  and  sitting on a throne; behind him is a small edifice, above which we see the sign  Before him stands an altar, with different gifts, and on the other side two men and a woman in adoration. Above the god are the vertical lines—(1.)  (2.)  (3.) ; above the persons (1.)  (2.)  (3.)  (4.)  (5.) (6.)  (7.)  (8.)  (9.) . In the second division sits a man and a woman on one side of an altar; they are named  and . On the other side is first a man making libations, the ; then three women are cowering, their names were ,  and . Below this scene follows the text, running from right to left, in three horizontal lines:

(1.) 

(2.) 

(3.) 

The genealogy of the family, of which we receive knowledge by this stela, is the following :—

Sa-pa-âr = Amen-em-âpt.

son,	son,	daughter,	daughter,	daughter,
Pa-ur.	Chā-em-ust.	Ta-χat.	Uanure.	Ḥui

The third time we find the name on an Uschebti of wood bought by Mr. Myers in 1880, at Luqsor. It is badly cut out, and bears an inscription written in black ink, running thus in five lines :



These texts prove sufficiently that the name Sapaâr was not so exceptional that it would be possible to identify the bearers of it, and that the namesakeness cannot support by itself the identification of the king Âḥmes-sa-pa-âr and the prince Sa-pa-âr.

The name Sapaâr is a curious one. It is formed as the names Sa-Amen, Sa-Ptah, and others, but the variants show, that the first syllable sa could be omitted, an impossibility in the analogous forms.

Then a divinity of the name Pa-âr is unknown; perhaps that was a surname of a god, as *p.e.* Chunsu has the more complete surname Pa-âr-seχer-u, perhaps that a divinity was designed by it as the maker. This appears at least probable by the writing of the Abbott papyrus, where it is determined by the . In this case the addition of the form sa-pa-âr to the king's name would have no other sense than the addition of sa-Bast, *e.c.*, to other names, it would place the king in relation to a divinity, and thus form an addition to his name, distinguishing him from other monarchs with the same proper name.

These considerations show, that we have to distinguish in Egypt three kings of the name Âḥmes:—

1. Âḥmes sa-pa-âr of the XVIIth dynasty. Perhaps this king is quoted on a Harpokrates statue at Boulaq (Mariette, Mon. div., plate 48 *b*), where a king Âḥmes appears to have the prenomen Ra-se-uat'-en, which form is known by the king-list of Karnak.

2. Âḥmes, the first king of the XVIIIth dynasty, and

3. Âḥmes sa Neith, the Amasis of the Greeks, belonging to the XXVIth dynasty.

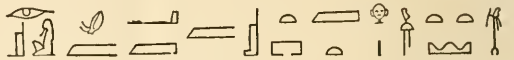
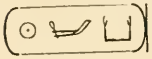
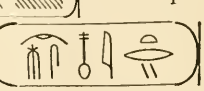
Tombs of the Nineteenth Dynasty at Dêr el-Medinet (Thebes).

Much less than the tombs of Schech Abd el Qurnah, the neighbouring tombs of Dêr el-Medinet, situated between the small Ptolemaïc temple and the tombs of the queens have been explored. They are not quite so near the large temples as the former ones; nor are they so richly painted with domestic scenes; thus it is easily explained how they are often overlooked by the ordinary traveller. But indeed for this reason they offer much interest; the colours have not been destroyed by the smoke of candles, and fewer pieces have been broken out of the walls by people anxious to bring home relics of their trip to Egypt. A few years ago this necropolis must have been in a nearly undisturbed state. Unhappily, this condition of things has changed. The papyrus of the Harris collection were found here, many other pieces for sale have been dug out, and so the Arabs began to make excavations, and threw down any ruins which were in their way. It is to be wished that the texts still existing may be copied before they are irrecoverably lost, like so many inscriptions of Abd el Qurnah destroyed since the beginning of our century.

Most of the tombs contained bodies of members of the different tribunals of Thebes,* and belong principally to the period of the XIXth dynasty. Many of their owners were connected by relation-

* For the titles found in these tombs, see also Maspero, *Rec. de Trav.* rel. e c., II and III, p. 103, sqq.

ship, and show that if also their positions were not really hereditary, it was the custom for the members of the family of a judge to follow the same career as their ancestor. Only very few tombs, or rather parts of tombs, have been published, between them the interesting royal lists of the Âḥmes family (Lepsius, *Denkm.* III, 2). Visiting Thebes and its necropolis four years ago, I took some notes about those tombs at Dêr el-Medinet, which appeared to be the most exposed to a chance of ruin, and think it well to publish them, as probably part of the texts have disappeared already. The tombs consist generally of an open hall and a small chamber.

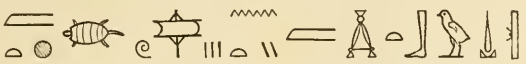
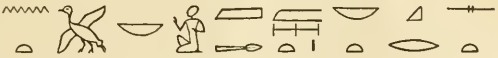
a. Tomb of the  * The date is given in the back chamber, in which we see the king  Rameses II in adoration. An interesting representation is found in the hall. The defunct Kasa worships two sitting figures, the first, coloured in red, is the  Amenophis I, and the other, coloured in a clear blue, the  Aḥmes-nefer-âteri, which has here not as elsewhere the black colour of a tomb divinity, but the blue colour more in use for the divinities of heaven.

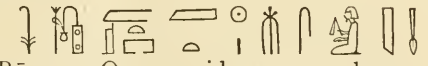
b. Tomb of  Pa-neb. The family of the man is given in this text: . In connection with

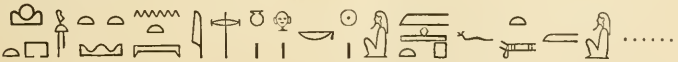
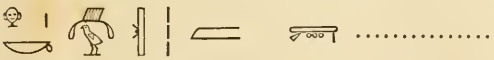
* *Cf.* with this tomb the tomb No. 2 of Dêr el-Medinet, out of which two adoration scenes are published, Lepsius, *Denk.* III, 173 *b-c*.

Pa-neb, and nearly as often as himself, appear the 

Unhappily it is impossible to see if this Kasa, or the first quoted one, whose wife is not given, are identical with the Kasa of the tomb *a*. Between the texts of this tomb the following, in five lines, running from right to left, at the roof, shows that the tomb was situated behind the frontier of Thebes, and in the territory of Erment:

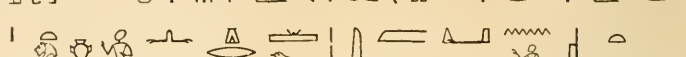
1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 

c. Open chamber of the  royal scribe in the tribunal Rānies. On one side we see a longer text; the mountain of fire, from which two arms holding between them the hieroglyph  come out, is represented at the beginning, it is the sun rising out of the burning horizon. Then follows the text, being unhappily in a very bad state of preservation:

1.
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 

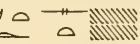
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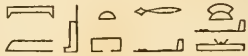
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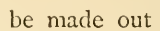
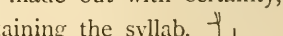
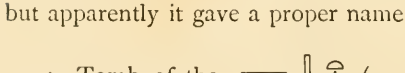
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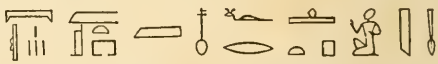
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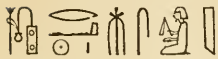
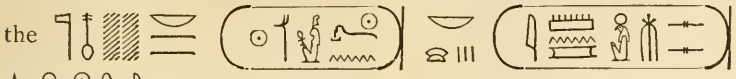
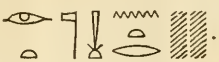
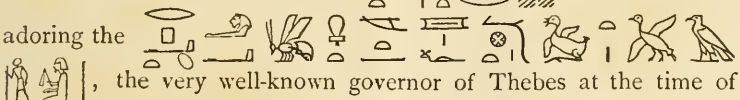
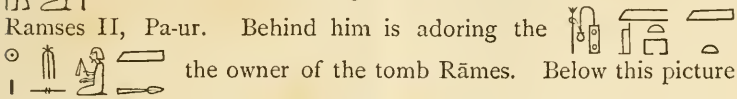
10. 

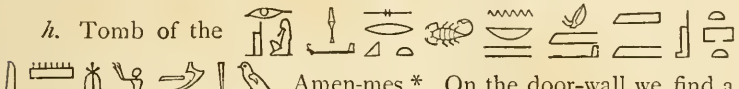
Underneath the first line we find the beginning of the name of the wife of Rames .

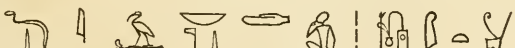
d. Open chamber of the , his wife is quoted as . This tomb of Chā and Merī-t is nearly destroyed. At the back-side was an hieratic grafito, too much blotted to be made out with certainty, but apparently it gave a proper name containing the syllab. .

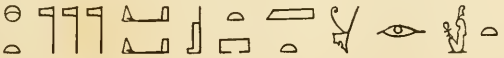
e. Tomb of the  (var. )  Neb-nefer. With him appears his wife,  Ài-em-ápt-em-uu.

f. Large tomb of the  Nefer-ḥetep. We see here the king  Ramses II before Amon-Ra. Above the god is the sun-disk with the two uræi, at the neck of which is suspended the sign ; between them is written . At another wall a praise of the  being probably the prenomen of Ramses II, is found.

g. Tomb of the  Rāmes. At the back side is a large representation. Above the winged sun-disk; below the Thebean triad, Amon, Mut et Chunsu, adored by three persons: first the . This king, Ramses II, is represented burning incense; before him is written . Then follows, adoring the , the very well-known governor of Thebes at the time of Ramses II, Pa-ur. Behind him is adoring the  the owner of the tomb Rāmes. Below this picture the defunct is represented before the divinities of death.

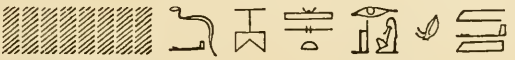
h. Tomb of the  Amen-mes.* On the door-wall we find a representation corresponding to chapter 125 of the Ritual. On the right side the Cynocephalus of Thoth is sitting, the moon and the sun-disk on his head; on the other side stands the divinity of truth, the hieroglyph  on her head. Between them is the balance, having on the scale near Maā the sign , on the other a sitting man. Underneath a man with his finger to his mouth is sitting on the ground. Over and through the balance was an inscription in vertical lines. Near the Cynocephalus we read:

1. 

2. 

near Maā:

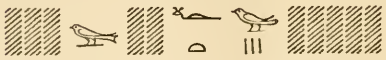
1. 

2. 

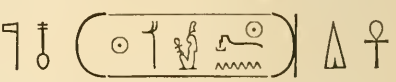
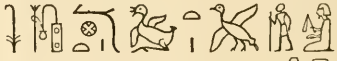
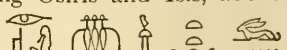
* See for this tomb also Piehl, *Aeg. Zeitschr.*, 1883, p. 131.

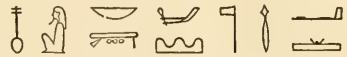
3. 

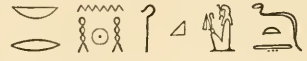
4. 

5. 

The text is, notwithstanding the very bad state of its preservation, not void of interest, particularly on account of the designation of Maā as the daughter of the *neb šā-t.* The style of the tomb is the same as that of the ones already described.

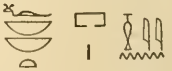
i. Tomb of  Ken. On one wall we see a sacrifice scene, in which the  Ramses II, and the  the just quoted governor of Thebes, Pa-ur, appear before  Ra-Harmachis Then we find a representation of the sitting Osiris and Isis, above which is written in vertical lines: (1) 

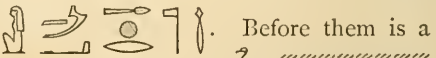
(2)  (3) 

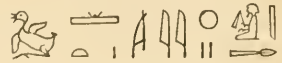
(4)  (5) 

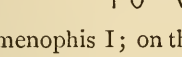
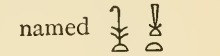
(6)  (7)  the names and titles of Osiris and Isis.

On the opposite wall appears the family of Ken. The deceased is sitting, and behind him his wife Nefer-āteri; over their heads we read in vertical lines: (1)  (2) 

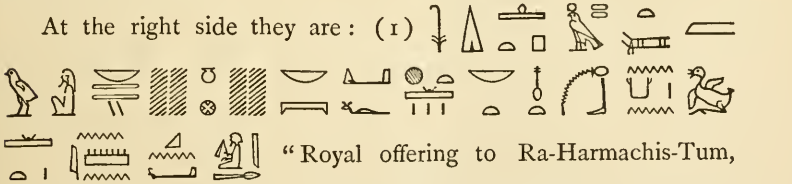
(3)  (4)  (5) 

(6)  (7) . Before them is a man offering flowers, and described as (1) 

(2)  his son Merī-merī.

The most interesting part of this tomb is a niche in the middle of the back side. In the centre is represented the cow-head with the sun-disk, the horns and the feathers. On the right side is written  the prenomen of Amenophis I; on the left  "Hathor, reigning in Thebes, the lady of heaven, the queen of Amenthi," being the name of the represented cow. Below are three figures, a standing king, corresponding to the name of Amenophis I, found above; on his right side a yellow painted woman with on her head, and named  "the divine wife of Amon Aḥmes-nefer-âteri;" and at the left side another yellow-painted woman with on her head, named  "the sister of the king Amen-merī-t." We have here a representation of the deified Amenophis I, with two members of his family. His mother is very often found associated with his cult, but his sister Amenmerīt is seldom quoted, so that it is very curious that her cult lasted up to the times of the Ramessides.*

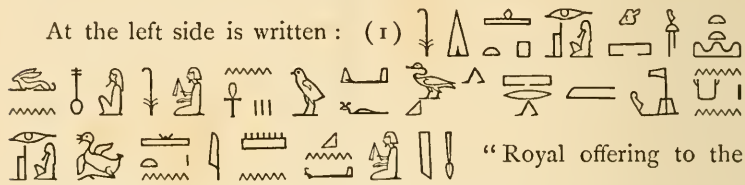
On the right and on the left side of the niche are two vertical lines of inscription.

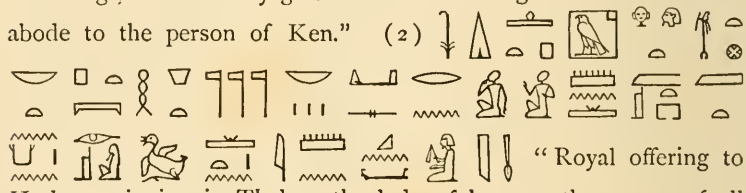
At the right side they are: (1)  "Royal offering to Ra-Harmachis-Tum, the lord of the two lands at Heliopolis [the large god], the lord of heaven, that he may give all good and pure things to the person

* *Cf.* for her Lepsius, "Kœnigsbuch," No. 329. In the tomb No. 9, at Dêr el-Medinet (Champollion, *Notices*, pp. 864–6; Lepsius, *Denk.* III, 2 *a*) she is represented just behind the king Aḥ-ḥetep, who follows Rā-sekenen III; on the sarcophagus of Butehaâmen she is adored with the family of Amenophis I (*cf.* Schiaparelli, Il libro dei funerali, I, p. 17).

of Ken, the deceased." (2) 

"Royal offering to the royal person, the life of Egypt, of the lord of the two countries Amenophis I, the deceased, that he may give "the members may flourish in following his Ka" to the person of Ken."

At the left side is written: (1) 

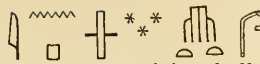
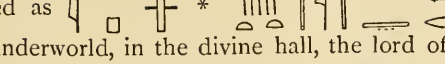
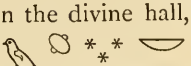
"Royal offering to the Osiris in the house of the Amenthi, the good being, the king of the livings, that he may give to enter and to go out of the divine abode to the person of Ken." (2) 

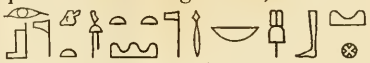
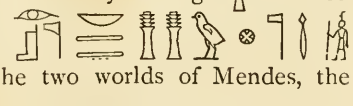
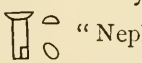
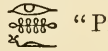
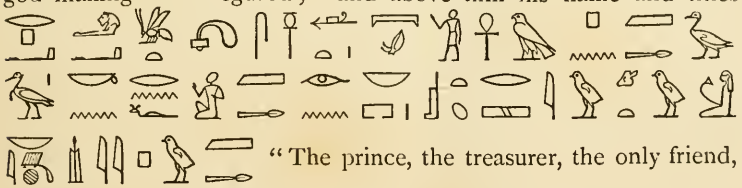
"Royal offering to Hathor, reigning in Thebes, the lady of heaven, the queen of all gods, that she may give the 'my name may remain in the house of truth' to the person of Ken."

A Sarcophagus of the Saïtic Period.

The stone sarcophagus No. 41 (21) of the Museum in Berlin, mentioned already by Brugsch (Uebersichtliche Erklaerung, *e.c.* p. 85, *sqq.*), and belonging to Ānχ-Ḥor-pen, is well worth notice and publication on account of the importance of its inscriptions for the history of the Egyptian religion.

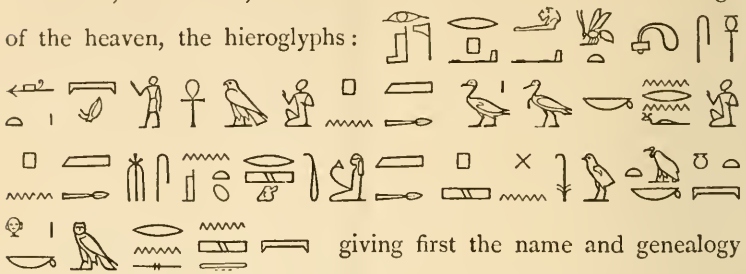
At the foot end of the sarcophagus the two sacred animals of Anubis lie under the sign of heaven, opposite one another; they are

described as  "Anubis in the underworld, in the divine hall, the lord of the land T'eser," and as  "Anubis in Ut, the lord of the land T'eser." Between them are engraved some symbolic signs, in the middle , at the right , at the left they form often-found combinations offering no particular interest; behind them we find repeated on each side twice the symbolic sign .

In the middle of the top-end the shining sun-disk with the scarabæus in it ascends to heaven. At the right is an Osiris symbol, formed by the sign , posted on a large stick, which is fixed in a postament; described as  "Osiris in the Amenthe, the large god, the master of Abydos," and adored by the goddess  "Isis," kneeling in form of a woman, with the hieroglyph on her head, on the sign . At the left side we find another Osiris symbol formed by the sign crowned with the Atef crown, and quoted as  "Osiris, lord of the two worlds of Mendes, the large god, the prince of the gods, the ruler of the eternity." Behind him kneels, quite in the same way as Isis,  "Nephthys," the sign  on her head. Behind each of these divinities the deceased is standing, having before him the words  "Praise to the god making the safeguard;" and above him his name and titles  "The prince, the treasurer, the only friend,

*** The hieroglyph found in the original at this place is the falsely so-called Dionysiac symbol of Osiris, which is generally represented standing before him in the vignettes of the chap. 125 of the *Todtenbuch*.

the president of the examinators (?) Ānχ-Ḥor-pen, the son of Bak-en-ren-f, born of the lady of the house Âst-rešâu-tu, the honoured, the Âni (Osiris)."

Above, on the lid, we find in one vertical line below the sign of the heaven, the hieroglyphs:  giving first the name and genealogy of the deceased with some variants, and then the well-known formula, which is found on a long series of sarcophagi since the oldest time, and has been treated in a most interesting manner by Dr. Birch in the *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*: "Thy mother Nut spreads herself over thee in her name 'secret of the heaven.'"

Around the whole sarcophagus runs a one-lined inscription, beginning at the top-end with the sign , diverging to both sides and meeting at the foot-end in a symbolic variant of the sign .

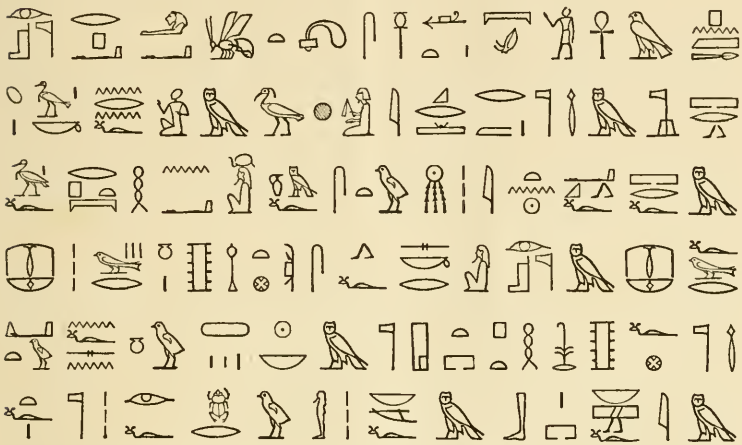
The inscription on the right side runs thus:—



"Ānχ-Ḥor-pen is in the necropolis of Memphis, the land of Kam-t (the necropolis of Memphis)

took him in peace; offerings are given to him and superfluity each day, good breath of the north wind at the place of Maā (the divine land), the daughter of Ra. Anubis, Isis, Nephthys, the gods having truth, are behind his sarcophagus, they do not leave him by night or day, he goes in and out, he is not held back from any place where his personality likes to be."

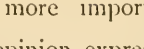
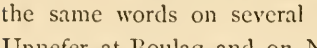
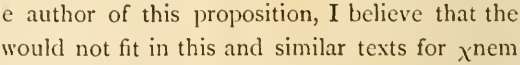
The inscription on the left side says:—



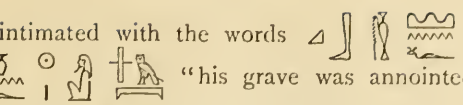
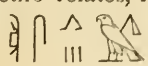
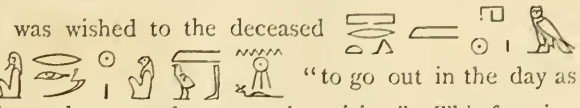
"Ānχ-Ḥor-pen is an accomplished spirit at the place of the large god in the subterranean world. His soul goes out at the heaven with Ra, he unites himself with the beams of the sun-disk, he goes in and out at the great festivities at Memphis, he follows Sokaris-Osiris on his great feasts. Offerings are given to him every day in the temple of Ptaḥ-Ânub-res-f, the great god, the father of the gods, he makes all the forms he likes at every place he goes to."

The middle part of the second inscription, which refers to the relations of the deceased with Ra, is not without importance for the knowledge of the Egyptian religion. The first action of the dead one,—that his soul goes out to heaven with Ra, is often found mentioned, thus, to give only one instance, on the sarcophagus No. 29 (12) in Berlin, where is said: 

"You rise with Ra in the morning, you go down with Tum in the

evening of every day eternally." The second reference in the inscription is more important (). The religious opinion expressed by it, that the human being unites himself after death with the rays of the sun, appears in nearly the same words on several sarcophagi—for example, on that on Unnefer at Boulaq and on No. 29 at Berlin (lid, l. 22). A similar expression is also found in the biography of Âmen-em-ḥeb, l. 37 :  "He (the king Ṭhutmes III) ascended to heaven, he united himself with the sun-disk, he followed the god." H. Brugsch has demonstrated in the *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 134, *sqq.*, by reason of a series of texts from the Ptolemaic period, that χnem âten was at that period used as an expression for sun-setting. He proposed to take the form in the Amenemḥeb-inscription in the same sense. Notwithstanding the high authority of the author of this proposition, I believe that the sense of sun-setting would not fit in this and similar texts for χnem âten. That χnem can be used in the sense of "to unite with," not only with, but also without a following , is proved for instance, to take only religious texts, by the passages, *Todtenbuch* cap. 15. 7, 44; 72, 9; 125 *d*; 128, 3; 146, 45. The meaning of χnem-rā as sun-set has probably only come out of the meaning "to unite with;" this is shown by a Dublin papyrus, published by Pierret, *Étud. égypt.*, pp. 83, 84, where it is said of Hathor  "she unites herself with Ra-Harmachis-Tum at his beautiful setting." This means that in the evening the union of the sun (Ra) took place with the goddess of the horizon (Hathor), and this religious belief has caused the sun-set to be denominated simply the union with Ra (*sc.* with Hathor).

In our inscription the signs χnem-f setu âten cannot be understood otherwise than thus, "he united himself with the rays of the sun-disk," that is to say, he united himself with Ra, he died. In a very similar way other texts circumscribe in an euphonistic manner the conception of dying; one of the most characteristic examples is found at Gurnah (Lepsius, *Denkm.* III, 152 *a*), where the death

of Seti I is intimated with the words  "his grave was annointed, he went to rest in the coffin, he united himself with Ra in the heaven."—The following words in our sarcophagus-text tell but the usual things about the deceased, and do not need further mention. Only relative to the šes-f-Seker-Ḥes-iri, for which the biography of Amenemheb gives simply  as a variant, a remark may be made here. It has often been tried to find an allusion to the demi-gods and spirits, which, as Manetho relates, followed the gods in the government of Egypt, in the  šes-u-Ḥor, or better šes-u-neter, often found on stelas and other monuments. But this opinion is wrong. This following a god was the act of every one deceased, and could be said of each of them. So we find on the stela 7290 (378) of Berlin, that it was wished to the deceased  "to go out in the day as a follower to the god to see the sun at her rising." This function to follow Ra belonged, as the Âm-ṭuat, § 12, teaches, besides to the deceased, also to certain divinities who had to offer on this occasion hymns to the sun.

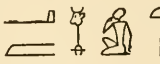
On the sides of the sarcophagus the deceased with his yet quoted name, title, and origin written above him, is figured doing homage to every twenty-one of the judges of the dead on each side. The pictures of these judges are excellently cut into the hard stone. Each one is provided with his name written before him, and is standing holding a knife in his hands, while the sign of truth  rises on the head of each. Their disposition is very similar to that of the *Todtenbuch*. It begins at the top-end on the left side of the deceased, and proceeds then at the top end of the right side. The only differences—when compared with the Turin-text—are that the god no. 11 appears only behind no. 21, and that the gods nos. 33–38 follow each other thus: 33, 34, 37, 35, 36, 38.

More interesting than the comparison of the disposition of the divinities with other texts is that of their representations, which are valuable for Egyptian comparative mythology. We find on the sarcophagus represented with human head the gods nos. 1, 2, 8, 10. 17, 18, 23, 29, 30, 35, 36, 37; with serpent-heads: nos. 3, 4, 20, 40,

41, 42; with a serpent-head turned backwards, nos. 12 and 27; with two serpent-heads: no. 31; with lion's head, nos. 5, 6, 11, 14, 19, 26, 33; with hawk's head, nos. 7, 13, 16, 22, 25, 28, 38; with ram's head, nos. 9, 24, 39; with crocodile's head no. 15; with jackal-head no. 21; with dog's head no. 32; at last no. 34 has a human head, on which the emblem of Nefer-Tum stands.

The variants found in the writing of the names and dwelling-places of these divinities are, if we compare them again with the Turin text, the following:—

No. 2.  is determined with , and the town  is written completely down.

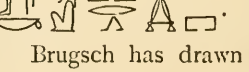
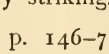
No. 4 is called .

No. 5 is written . A very remarkable legend of this demon, who appears also on the Metternich stela (backside, line 1), is briefly related in the Àm-ṭuat, § 7, of the papyrus Paris, No. 3071, and Leyden, No. T, 71; yet more briefly in Pap. Berlin, No. 1 (for some passages the fragments of the Pap. 7 in Berlin give explanations), and more copiously accompanied by vignettes in the text of the tomb of Seti I, published by Lefébure (pl. 43–6).

No. 7: the town is written .

No. 8: the name is only .

No. 15 is called: .

No. 17 is named: . The variant for  is very striking. Brugsch has drawn attention in the *Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 146–7, to variants, which give the name of Sais instead of the town of 30; our sarcophagus would point to Edfu. At the same time the passage would offer the possibility of reading the numerical word 30 among other ways also as *teb*, if we do not consider this writing to be an error; the maker of the coffin having confounded the hieratic sign for 30, found in several texts of the Thebean period in this place (*see* Naville, *Todtenbuch*, II, p. 295),

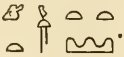
which was written in his design, and which was intended to be taken for the number 30, with the very similar hieratic sign for .

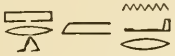
No. 19: the name is .

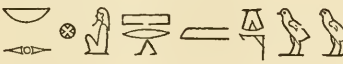
No. 21 is written .

No 22 is named .

The name is to be compared with the serpent found in Bonomi and Sharpe, "The Alabaster Sarcophagus of Oimeneptah I [Seti I]," pl. 11, I, line 42.

No. 23 is said to take origin in .

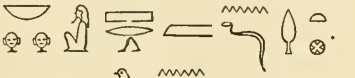
No. 24, the  is wanting.

No. 25 runs thus: .

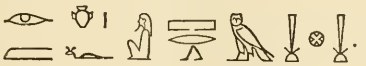
No. 27, instead the name of the town, is written .

No. 28, the town is called .

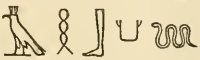
No. 30, instead of  we find only .

No. 31 is written .

No. 32, the town-name is .

No. 36 is found .

No. 37, the judge is called only .

No. 40 is written .

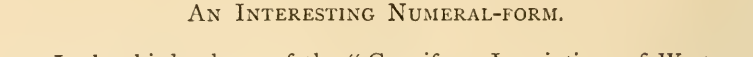
No. 41, the judge is determined with .

No. 42, one reads .

The following Paper, entitled, "Assyriological Notes," has been received from Mr. Theo. G. Pinches :—

An Interesting Numeral-form.

In the third volume of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," pl. 59, line 48, we read the following :—



"(If) the sun in its course be darkened twice, and shine thrice, the king of the land"

As an aid to the reading of the above line, the original tablet has two glosses. The first, which has been left out in the publication, is placed beneath , and reads , *šitin šu*. The second is placed beneath the group , and reads , *šalalta šu*, misprinted, however, *šalaltuk šu* in the publication.*

The new form of the word "two," *šitin*, is apparently analogous to that of the numeral "one" (*îštin*), and may, therefore, be derived, by contraction, from the commoner form *šina*, "two" (*šinatin*, *šintin*, *šittin*, *šitin*), like the Hebrew feminine form שְׁתַּיִם (for שְׁנָתַיִם).

The transcription of the above fragment of a line is therefore as follows :—

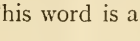
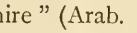
Šamaš ina gali-šu šitin šu âdir, *šalalta šu namir*, *šar mât Ḫa*

There are two doubtful words here, namely, , which I have transcribed *gali*, and the broken word at the end of the line. The usual meaning of the former is "great," but that clearly will not fit.

An Akkadian inscription of Samsu-iluna gives with the meaning of "greatness" (large size), and this may also be the meaning here. If so, it probably refers to the large size of the setting sun. The character  *ḫa* may be part of the word *Ḫatti*, "Hit," or part of the verb , "to be driven away," "destroyed." The word *šu*, "time," being, according to its form, masculine, the numeral *šalalta* has the feminine ending, in accordance with the general rule in Assyrian, as in the other Semitic languages.

* The characters with which these glosses are written are almost microscopic, and are therefore very difficult to read.

Âgarrūtu, "*workmen.*"

In the *Proceedings* of this Society for May 5th, 1885 (p. 150), there occurs, in a text quoted by me, the word , which I then transcribed *zikarē*, mentioning, however, in a footnote, the possible alternative reading *âgrutu*. As far as the root is concerned, this latter statement is correct; but the form, as I now find, should be * (*amēlu*) *a-gar-ru-u-tu* (*âgarrūtu* or *âgārūtu*). This word is a plural or an abstract in *-ūtu* from the root *âgāru*, "to hire" (Arab. , Aram. ). Compare W.A.I., V, plate 25, line 15, where  (= *âgarrūtu*, "hired servants") is translated by *ârda îgur*, "has hired a servant;" also W.A.I. II, plate 33, line 13:  = *ana âgrūti-šu*, "to his service."

Names of trades in Babylonian are, as a rule, indicated by the ending *-ūtu*. This termination is generally used to form abstract nouns, and its extended meaning is therefore analogous to that of the English suffix *-hood* in "brotherhood," "sisterhood."

 = *šaṭāru*, "a written document."

I have already pointed out (*Zeitschr. für Keilschr.*, Vol. II, p. 158) that the Babylonian character should correspond with the Assyrian  (with *six* wedges in front), and is not, as a rule, to be transcribed by the Assyrian  (with *five* wedges in front), as this latter character is really the Babylonian . The primitive meaning of or is "a garden," and the line-form  (turned with the right-hand side downwards), implying an original hieroglyphic , shows clearly what is intended. , on the other hand, apparently represents, when in the same position, a fortress or tower with battlements .

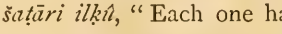
It is apparently from the meaning of "garden," through the mid-meaning of planting in rows, or ploughing, that the character has gotten its well-known meaning of *šaṭāru*, "to write."

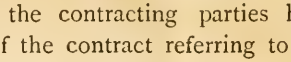
* Tablet 82-9-18, 54*a*.

This enables me to suggest a better rendering for line 19 of the text translated on page 149 of the *Proceedings* for May 5th, 1885, mentioned above. The line in question is , and the reading and meaning which I now propose is *îšten-tān šaṭāri ilḳû*, "Each one has taken a writing"—that is: each of the contracting parties has taken, for future reference, a copy of the contract referring to the work done upon the barge,

Nadānu and *natānu*, "to give."

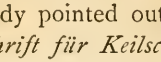
As I have already pointed out (*Proceedings* for November 4th, 1884, p. 36; *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, vol. ii, p. 326), the Babylonian dialect had, in common use in Sippara of the Sun-god and the district around, besides the common root *nadānu*, "to give," also the root *natānu*, with the same meaning. The following examples will suffice to prove its existence:—


Ḥanšâa šiḳli kaspi ana bît karê it - ta - nu - '
"*Fifty shekels of silver to the treasury they have given.*"


[Napharišš] šanê mana îrbit šiḳli ribi-tu BIT - KA kaspi
"*Altogether two mana four shekels and a quarter of pieces of silver*

ana Ê - bar - ra it - ta - nu.
to Ê-bara they have given."

From these examples it will be seen that the root *natānu*, "to give," has *a* as the second vowel of the aorist, whilst *nadānu* has *i* (*iddin*), which, however, is probably a weakening from *a* (*iddan*),† so that *nadānu* may still be regarded as another form of the root *natānu*, peculiar to the Assyrians and Babylonians. The Phœnician inscriptions show a few examples of this change between ת and ד in דברכא = Heb. תְּבָרְכֵהוּ; *Idon-ius* = יתן = bibl.

* In other texts the variant  *šaṭari* is given.

† Compare the common Hebrew form יִתֵּן with the form of the first person plural נִתֵּן in Judges xvi, 5.

נתן, and one or two other names.* As neither the Assyrian ideograph 𒀭𒈾 nor its Babylonian form 𒀭𒉌, seem ever to be used to express the root *natānu*, it is probable that this latter is a late importation, introduced into the city of Sippara—a vast trading centre of ancient Babylonia—by foreign merchants. Besides the forms quoted above, the singular *ittan* and *ittannu* also occur.†

The Name of Sargon of Agadé.

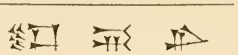
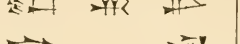
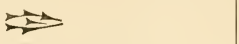
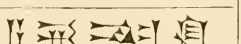
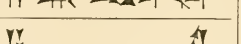
In the *Proceedings* for November 6th, 1883 (Vol. VI, p. 11), I published a transcription into the late Babylonian character of the celebrated inscription of Sargon of Agadé, of which Mr. Rylands has given a drawing, p. 68 of the same volume (*Proceedings* for January 8th, 1884), in which, following M. Ménant, I transcribed the character 𒍪 as 𒀭𒈗, and read and translated the whole as follows :—

Šar-ga-ni	*Sargon,*
lugal-laǵ	*the king,*
šar	*king of*
A-ga-de (ki)	*Agadé,*
a-na	*to*
(ilu) Šamaš	*Šamaš*
in Sipar (ki)	*in Sippara*
a-mu-ru	*I have dedicated.*

* Schröder, "Phönizische Sprache," p. 107. To the very small number of examples of this change in Phœnician, Signor Pellegrini has added another, in his article entitled "L'iscrizione punica d'Erice," in the Jewish paper, *Il vessillo israelitico*, April, 1885, p. 126. The inscription treated of by the learned author is one copied from a stone two centuries since, and now preserved in two manuscripts of Antonio Cordici's "Historia Erycis"—very badly copied, however, as may well be imagined. Many scholars have tried to read this inscription, but Signor Pellegrini is the only one who has succeeded in making it out with any completeness, and he explains it as an offering of milk and honey on the occasion of a solemn feast to Astarte and Tanith ; and a gift of byssus, skins, and coloured wool to ornament and protect the image of the goddess Astarte, by Maesa, daughter of Magon. The new example brought forward by Signor Pellegrini is the word חדרחת in the first line of the inscription, which he compares with the Hebrew חַתְחַת, "timid," "fearful," here probably used with the meaning of מְחִתָּה, "destruction."

† Since writing the above, I have come across the form *ittanu*, "they have given," in an Assyrian letter, date about 640 B.C.

The doubtful character is the second one of the second line. Prof. Hommel has pointed out to me that this character () is only the sign for "city" ( in late Babylonian and  in Assyrian). The whole is therefore to be transcribed and translated as follows:—

	Sargani	*Sargon,*
	šar âli,	*king of the city,*
	šar	*king of*
	Agadé (D.S.)	*Agadé,*
	ana	*to*
	(D.P.) Šamaš,	*Šamaš*
	in Sipar (D.S.)	*in Sippara*
	âmuru	*I have dedicated.*

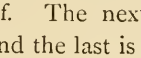
"(I), Sargon, king of (this) city, king of Agadé, have dedicated (this object) to Šamaš within Sippara."

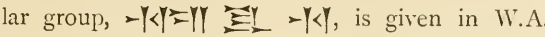
This sets at rest the question as to whether the second line is to be regarded as part of the name or not; and sets aside all doubt that Sargani is really, as already pointed out, the original form of the name Sargina, and confirms his identification with the renowned Sargon of Agadé.

Assyrian Bird-Names.

The Akkadian name of the , *kililu* (var. , *kililî*), or , *kulilu* (var. *kulilî*), is expressed by the groups , an exceedingly difficult word. The first group, (Babylonian ), seems to have had the pronunciation of *u* in Akkadian, and is translated in Assyrian by *rakābu*, "to ride." It means, with the determinative for wood (), both "a chariot" and the "hold" or "hull of a ship" ( = Assyr. *ḫinnu êlippi*—compare, for the first, the Arabic ); and with the determinative for "man" (), it means "charioteer." It forms also part of

the word  (*liûm*), perhaps originally a wooden box to hold a tablet, afterwards applied to designate the tablet itself. The next character, , is the well-known sign for "wood," and the last is the determinative suffix for "bird."

A similar group, , is given in W.A.I., II, pl. 26, line 51, and is translated by *raḳraḳu*, "the very green." The word "green" is also expressed in the Akkadian form by the sign , which is explained, on the above-named plate, line 50, in the following way :—



si - ig sig a - ra - | ar - ḳu

showing that , with the pronunciation of *sig* in Akkadian, is translated in Assyrian by *âraḳu* or *ârḳu*, the Hebrew יָרַק, "green." The word *raḳraḳu* has probably nothing to do with the Arabic وَرْقَا, "dove" (also "she-wolf"). The *kulilu*, in Akkadian "the wood-rider" (or "wood-coloured rider"), and the *raḳraḳu*, in Akk. "the green rider," are both possibly names of birds of the duck-family. If the *raḳraḳu* of pl. 26 be the same as the *raḳraḳḳu* mentioned, pl. 37, line 8, this bird also bore a second name in Assyrian, namely, *laḳalaḳa*, a word which calls to mind at once the Arabic لَقْلَق or لَقْلَاق "stork." It is impossible however to say for certain whether the *raḳraḳu* and the *raḳraḳḳu* are identical or not, but if so, the translation "duck" is to be preferred to that of "stork," on account of the colour of the bird.

The following Communication has been received from Mr. P. Le Page Renouf :—

THE NAME (1) OF THE ITHYPHALLIC HORUS , AND (2) OF THE HELIOPOLITAN NOME .

The objections to my reading of the name of the ithyphallic Horus could not be more forcibly stated, nor by a more sound and judicious scholar. than they have been by M. Lefébure. The position however, which he has taken up is not by any means so impregnable

as he supposes. If he is mistaken in his assertion about the phonetic value of the sign , and also in his reading of the variant , his paper, though of great merit in other respects, fails in its principal object, that of disproving my view.

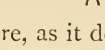
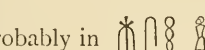
M. Lefébure says that is proved to have the value *χem*, and that there is no reason for supposing it to be polyphonous. I can hardly suppose him to mean that it never is to be read otherwise than *χem*. The Egyptians read it and wrote it *seχem* on countless documents, and transcribed it so in demotic in a proper name upon a bilingual tablet quoted by Brugsch in his Lexicon.* The funereal papyri are so contradictory in transcribing the names of the same geographical place (*χem* or *seχem*), that the simplest solution of the difficulty is to suppose that the place had both names, the true one and its corruption (just as a man may be called Antony or Tony), and that the ideographic sign covers both. The long form is the true one, the short one is the corruption. Perhaps this may not be considered a case of polyphony. I will therefore quote another. We have in the British Museum a papyrus (D'Athanasi, 171) written for *Anḫ-ḥep* who was the son of . But this latter name is also written , a fact which shows that may sometimes have the value *ut'at*.

I believe M. Lefébure is equally mistaken in identifying with *ḥeqes*. It is to be identified with another well known group, the phonetic value of which has never yet been published. M. Lefébure will, I fear, think me very paradoxical when I tell him that the twisted cord in this group is not the letter *ḥ*, but an ideographic sign, and when it accompanies this latter sign has not the value *ḥeq*, but another syllabic value ending with the letter *s*, which is sometimes written and sometimes omitted.

The following are variants of the sacred name of the Heliopolitan nome, the thirteenth of Lower Egypt: , , , , , , , . † The last of these variants, which is

* p. 1291. Compare *Dictionnaire Géograph.*, p. 724.

† Compare Brugsch, *Geogr.* I, *Taf.* XI and XII, the variants to Todtb., 125 19, in M. Naville's 2nd vol., p. 300, and Champollion's *Notices*, I, p. 815.

taken from the tomb of Rameses VI, shows that the name finishes with *s*, and a comparison of all the variants proves that  in the first is ideographic like  and . It is in fact as a twisted cord that it appears here, as it does in  *mātau*,* a bond, and most probably in  *mesu*, to twist round. This word seems in fact to furnish the very thing we are seeking, a syllable (1) ending in *s*, and (2) accompanied by as its ideograph. It is a syllable well worth studying.

It would lead us too far to enquire whether or not all the words of which *mes* is the principal syllable are traceable to one origin; but it is quite certain that a large number of words are closely connected together through a root *mes*, which signified *twist*, *turn round*, *twine*, *curl*, *wind*, *tie*, *bent*, *crooked*, and which is fitly symbolized by the signs , , , , , , , , † , , , , , and others.

A prosthetic vowel *a*, *à*, or *àu* is found at the beginning of several words of which *mes* is the root.

The following are kindred words— ‡

 mes, curl, lock.

 mes, diadem, fillet, tie.

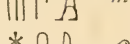
 meses, girdle, cincture, tie.

* *Zeitschr.*, 1867, p. 42, § 14.

† The top of this sign sometimes assumes the form of the head of a cow with crumpled horns (κορωνίς), in the name of a title. *Cf.* Champollion, *Notices*, II, 434. Pierret, *Insc. du Louvre*, II, 130. Mariette, *Karnak*, pl. 47, *e.c.*, *Mastabas*, 532, 566.

‡ The following Greek and Latin words are traceable to an Indo-European root equivalent in sense to the Egyptian *mes*: κίκιννος, cincinnus, κερκίς, the crook by which the threads of the woof were driven home in the loom, κίρκος, circus, circulus, κύκλος, cirrus, curvus, κορώνη, anything hooked or curved, cingere, cingulum, coxa (the French cuisse), perhaps vermis (=kvermis), and from the Latin crux, the French crosse, croc, crochet, our own crook, etc.

 *mes*, turn round, as flowers towards the sun.

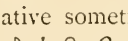
 *mesàt*, a bird flying in wheels or circles (like the Greek κίρκος, a falcon).

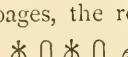
 *mast*, the shank, like the Hebrew בָּרַע from בָּרַע *flexit, inclinavit.*

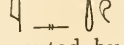
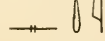
 *mestet*, a scorpion.

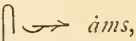
 *mestu*, serpent (both these last words = σκολιοπλανής).

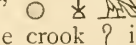
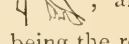
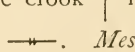
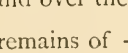
 *àmes àb*, variants  (de Rougé, *Edfu*, plate 72,) and  turning of the heart. (The cow as determinative sometimes bends round to its calf.)

 *àmes*, or  *àumes*, circumlocution, ambages, the reverse of what is straightforward.

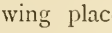
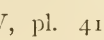
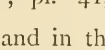
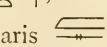
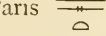
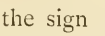
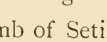
 *mesmes*, is 'complication.'

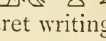
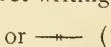
 *àmsta*, is apparently the name of the great intestine, represented by the god  *Mesta*, or  *Amsta.*

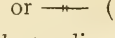
 *àms*,  or  *àmes*, is the name of the sceptre attached to the flail. The most remarkable variant of it is ,* where the determinative is the divine hawk symbolizing Horus.

On a sarcophagus of the same period† the names of the flail and the crook are written over them, but in a form not easily recognized. Over the flail its real name,  *neχa*, is seemingly disguised as , and over the crook  is written , the latter sign being the remains of . *Mes*, *ames* or *àmes* is the real name of this sceptre.

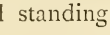
* Lepsius, *Aeltest. Texte*, pl. 38. † *Ib.*, pl. 27.

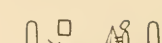
An inscription in the Louvre (A. 66) speaks of Horus  *mes em ā*, "sceptre in hand," the corresponding expression to which in the Pyramid inscription of Unas is . But what I have chiefly to justify against M. Lefébure is the ideographical value of . He will find the name of this crook phonetically written  or in the following places (1) the Sarcophagus of Neχt-ḥer-ḥeb, *Antiquités*, V, pl. 41, (2) the Sarcophagus of T'eho Sharpe II, 12, line 7, and in the royal tombs as , *Denkm.*, III, 224, *i*, and , Champollion, *Notices*, I, 802. But in the Sarcophagus at Paris  *mest Uasari*, 'the crook of Osiris,' is written over the sign  (Sharpe II, 11, line 9). The corresponding text in the tomb of Seti * is very remarkable on account of the *double reading*,  in common orthography and  in the "secret writing," where  is meant for Osiris; but  or  ("réprésentant deux sceptres horizontaux affrontés" and standing in this place for) =  *mes*.†

In the variants copied from the tombs at Biban-el Moluk by Champollion, and published in the *Notices*, I, p. 802, there is one which if written in ordinary hieroglyphic characters would read as follows:  = .

We can now understand the inscription at Edfu in reference to the Heliopolitan nome 

* Champollion, *Notices*, I, pl. 767.

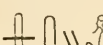
† This last conclusion, I believe, to be quite certain; but I abstain from insisting upon it at this moment, because I am aware that  is also found . But  here is not the alphabetic sign for *s*, but another and not infrequent form of . Compare Sharpe II, 11, line 3, with the corresponding forms in *Denkm.* III, pl. 234.

 *ân-ef-nek Amest Annu χer âmes Sepu šepes.** The crook in the name of the nome stands for the crook of the god Sepu, a form of Osiris.

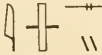
The variants of the divine name are as follows :—

1. , *Denkmäler* III, plate 114*a*.

2. , on at least half a dozen copies of the Book of the Dead, chapter 17, lines 11 and 12.

3. , Bulaq papyrus, 21.

4. , Louvre papyrus, III, 89.

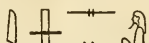
5. , Berlin papyrus of Keka.

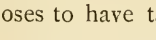
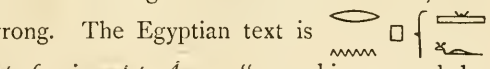
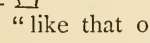
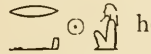
As the phonetic value of  is indisputably *âmes*, a very slight change is required in variant 5 to harmonize it with all the others. A careful inspection of the papyrus might perhaps discover traces of , but the omission of this if real is easily explained by the carelessness of the copyist.

Variants 2 and 4 are both found in the same passage of the Louvre papyrus, and are admitted by M. Lefébure to stand for the same name. But M. Lefébure disputes my assertion that the sign is intended to represent the well-known syllabic sign , though he allows that it sometimes does so. He thinks that in such cases the scribe has mistaken one sign for another, that is, he has misread one of the commonest signs in one of the commonest words. This is surely not the fact, nor are the cases as rare as he thinks. I cannot produce the numerous instances which I have found on unpublished papyri or on the walls of tombs, and am only surprised that he has himself not noticed them. But on the sarcophagus of

* De Rougé, Edfu, pl. 146.

Sebekāa in the *Aelteste Texte** of Lepsius there are within a few pages no less than seven instances, in not one of which can it be contended with the slightest plausibility that the scribe intended to represent any other sign than the well-known . Instead of five strokes he used two; rounding off the top of the sign and omitting the stroke at the bottom. But he did not do this systematically. At line 24 he has added the stroke at the bottom; at line 22 he has left out the bottom stroke, but put one at the top. And he has ever so many other ways of writing the letter.

Variant 3, , is free from all ambiguity, but M Lefébure thinks there has been a mistake here, the converse of that which he supposes to have taken place in the other instances. To this plea I reply that an ignorant copyist would have been satisfied with substituting the wrong sign for the right one, in both places where it occurs, but that he would not have prefixed  in the second place, as he has done, and added  in the first. If he copied both and from the text before him, then unquestionably the value of the syllabic sign which he copied was not *ḥeqes* but *ȧm*. *Q.E.D.*

Variant 1, , is very summarily disposed of by M. Lefébure. If Mr. Budge was wrong in translating this by the god Ames it was an error for which both the late Dr. Birch and I are equally responsible. And until some reasons are given to prove the contrary, I shall hold that Mr. Budge's translation is correct, and that M. Lefébure's is wrong. The Egyptian text is  *renpe-f mȧ entet Ȧmes*, "may his renewal be like Ames," or "like that of Ames." If instead of Ames we had  or  how would M. Lefébure translate the passage? If any one should imagine that I am supposing an

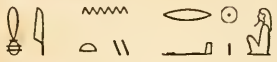
* Pl. 32, 45, 51; 34, 6; 36, 36; 37, 55; 38, 65; 42, 61.

impossible construction, I beg to offer the following passage* from the early recension of the Book of the Dead :—



áu āba-f sbau en pet ta tuat

He approaches [enters] the gates of heaven earth and hell



mâ entet Rā

like Rā.

Mr. Budge's translation is therefore perfectly unobjectionable.

M. Lefébure's translation is not in accordance with the text of the tablet. If there were no determinative after or if there were a plural determinative, his translation might stand, though I should, I confess, be utterly astonished to find 'those who are in it,' namely the gods in heaven, on a tablet of the eighteenth dynasty, commemorating a prophet of the god Amsu of the city of Apu.

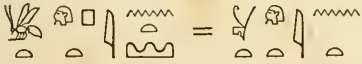
I say Amsu rather than Amsi, because (as I have elsewhere explained) I hold it as an error to look upon \\ as the vowel *i*. It is an ideographic sign, and stands here for the suffix, which was (I believe) originally *á*, out of which the forms *i* and *u* (as *ámχi* and *ámχu*) were afterwards evolved.

I do not think it necessary to discuss the gods Heka, Hekka, or Heqes. I am familiar with their names and pictures, and with texts relating to them. But there is no evidence identifying them with each other, or any one of them with the ithyphallic Horus. Hekka is linguistically different from Heqes, and neither of these names can be hieroglyphically written .

POSTSCRIPT.—Since the above was in print, M. Lefébure has published a splendid work, "Les Hypogées Royaux de Thèbes, première division, Le Tombeau de Seti I^er^," containing the very text

* Chapter 127, A, line 14, in M. Naville's text.

from which I have drawn some of my strongest arguments.* But of this text there are many copies, both on monuments and in papyri, and in some of them the crook is occasionally drawn in such a way as to disguise its true character. There is no mistaking the long crook in the right hand of Osiris (pt. i, pl. 9), or in that of Tat, the father of the gods (Appendix, pl. 3), but few would guess what is meant at pt. i, pl. 24, without referring to other copies. The *t'ām* sceptre is not less difficult to make out at pt. ii, plates 17 and 18, though mentioned in the text.

* Let me call attention to a goddess (pt. iii, pl. 29), whose name is written .

NOTE.—A communication from Mr. Renouf on the name of the Egyptian god Seb is too late for the present number of the *Proceedings*, but will appear in the next.

W. H. R.

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